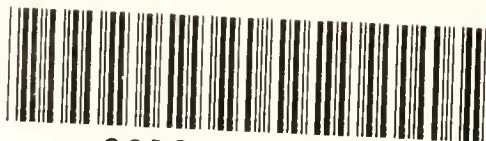


22P (Hill.)

Aug. 1911.

22P (Hill.)



22101540196

J. R. Lovell.

May 1931.

Edwin Clarke
Newcastle upon Tyne
1 October 1963

Middlesex Hospital. W.I.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Wellcome Library

<https://archive.org/details/b2982526x>

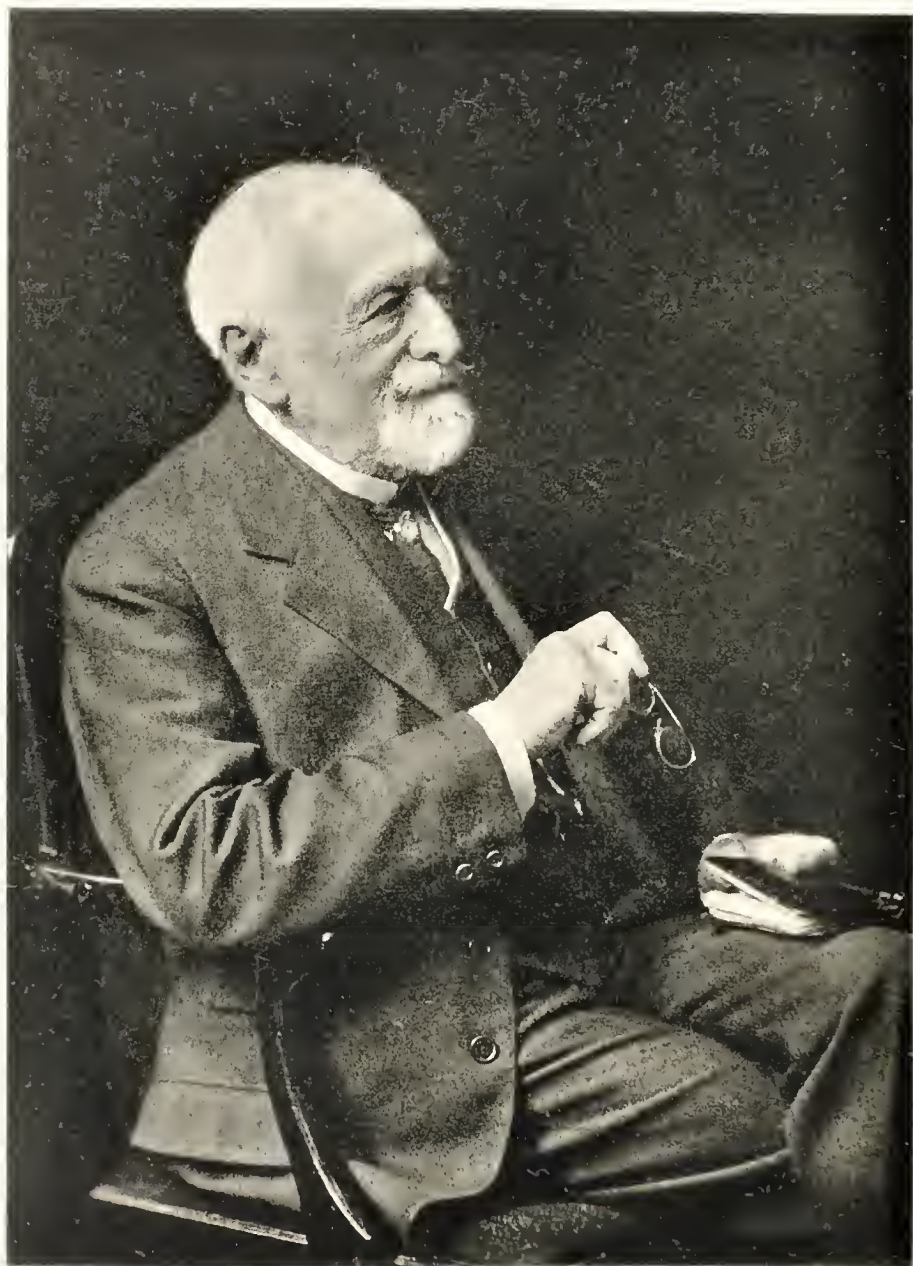
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR THOMAS CLIFFORD ALLBUTT
A MEMOIR



MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • MADRAS
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK • BOSTON • CHICAGO
DALLAS • SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO



[Photo, J. Palmer Clarke,

RIGHT HON. SIR CLIFFORD ALBUTT, K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S.
In 1920.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR THOMAS CLIFFORD ALLBUTT
K.C.B.

M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., HON. M.D., D.SC., D.C.L., LL.D.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF PHYSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
FELLOW AND SOMETIME CLASSICAL SCHOLAR
OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE

A MEMOIR

BY

SIR HUMPHRY DAVY ROLLESTON
BART., G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

M.A., M.D., HON. M.D., D.SC., D.C.L., LL.D.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF PHYSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
SOMETIME PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1929

323946
COPYRIGHT

B.P. (Allbut)

100 p. 2000

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY R. & R. CLARK, LIMITED, EDINBURGH

P R E F A C E

THIS short life of a great personality was undertaken, at the wish of Lady Allbutt, with considerable anxiety; for not only has it been said that it is as difficult to write as to live a good life, but full materials for an accurate account of Sir Clifford Allbutt's activities, extending over wide fields and many years, have not been ready to hand. He kept very few letters, did not write a diary, or leave any unpublished reminiscences, and very few of his early contemporaries are now alive. Welcome help, however, has been readily given, especially by Lady Allbutt, Mrs. H. Cronin, Mrs. G. P. Bidder, Mr. J. F. Cameron, Dr. W. E. Dixon, Dr. T. R. Glover, Mr. E. Harrison, Mr. W. E. Heitland of Cambridge; by Lord Moynihan, Sir James Crichton-Browne, Dr. A. G. Barrs, Dr. C. M. Chadwick, Mr. E. Kitson Clark, Professor T. W. Griffith (about the Leeds period); by Sir George Newman, Sir Walter Fletcher, Dr. Parkes Weber, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Henry Gauvain, Professor Harvey Cushing, Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison, Professor W. S. Thayer; and by others for letters, to all of whom, and to Mr. H. M. Barlow for compiling the Index, most grateful acknowledgements are due.

Sir Clifford Allbutt's activities naturally fall into

three main divisions—early life and education, until he started in practice in Leeds (1836–61); life as a hospital physician and consultant in Leeds, terminating with three years as a Commissioner in Lunacy, when he lived in London (1861–92); and the last thirty-two years as Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge (1892–1925).

Though it is hoped that the details of this chronological record, derived in the main from published sources, such as medical and other journals, may indicate the wonderfully consistent energy, versatility, wide sympathies, and scholarly culture of this leader of his profession, it must be admitted that in some of the earlier years the record has a bibliographical rather than a biographical character.

H. D. R.

CAMBRIDGE,

August 1929.

ILLUSTRATIONS

RIGHT HON. SIR CLIFFORD ALLBUTT IN 1920	<i>Frontispiece</i>
BOOK - PLATE OF PROFESSOR CLIFFORD ALLBUTT	<i>Face page 107</i>
SIR CLIFFORD ALLBUTT IN 1911	200

EARLY YEARS

(1836-1861)

THOMAS CLIFFORD ALLBUTT was born at Dewsbury 1836 in Yorkshire on July 20, 1836, the only son and elder of the two children of the Reverend Thomas Allbutt, Vicar of Dewsbury from 1835 to 1862, and later Rector of Debaeh-eum-Boulge and Rural Dean of Woodbridge, Suffolk. As the first child born in Dewsbury Vicarage for half a century or more, the birth of the future Regius Professor caused great rejoicing in the parish. A Cambridge graduate (St. Catherine's College, B.A. 1833; M.A. 1838), the Reverend Thomas Allbutt had four sisters and four brothers; in 1907 and 1923, Clifford Allbutt referred to his five medical uncles, including a great-uncle, and the first Medical Directory in 1845, a small octavo with the motto "L'union fait la force" on the outside (price 5s.), gives the names of two medical Allbutts, George of Derby, who later moved to Batley, Dewsbury, and John of Hanley. The Reverend Thomas Allbutt, like his son when later practising in Leeds, was a friend of Charles Waterton (1782-1865) of Walton Hall, the naturalist, Leigh Hunt, the Wedgwoods, and other literary people. He published "Feeding the Lambs, A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Ripon, at an Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of Ripon, on the third Sunday

1836 in *Advent*" (1848, 18 em., London). Sir Clifford's mother was Marianne, daughter of John Wooler of Dewsbury, whose elder daughters—the Misses Wooler of Roehead—were on very friendly terms with Charlotte Brontë. The Miss Margaret Wooler so often mentioned in connection with the Brontës in the writings of Mrs. Gaskell, T. Wemyss Reid, and F. A. Layland, died in 1885 at the age of ninety-three with her mental faculties unimpaired; she kept a school at Roehead, between Leeds and Huddersfield, to which the three Brontë sisters went, and to which, when the school was transferred in 1836 to Heald's House at the top of Dewsbury Moor, Charlotte returned as a mistress. Allbutt knew Charlotte (1816–55), and as a small boy had seen Emily Brontë; he inherited Charlotte Brontë's letters to Miss Wooler, and presented them and an inscribed first edition of *Villette* (1853) to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Before he became perpetual curate of Haworth in 1820 the Reverend Patrick Brontë (1777–1861) had been a curate at Dewsbury (1808–11), but before the Allbutts went there.

In later life Allbutt often insisted that Mrs. Gaskell in her *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857) had been misled by someone's account of the West Riding as a semi-savage region in which these clever girls were marooned, and so gave an exaggerated impression of the isolation of the Brontës, who in reality were much in touch with cultivated neighbours. When in the spring of 1903 the late Sir Edmund Gosse gave an address on "The Challenge of the Brontës" at the annual meeting of the Brontë Society, Sir Clifford was much interested, and from then onwards collected material to enable a correct presentation of the real

position of the Brontës to be given to the world. He 1836 never published any such account, but when in Leeds in 1914 he impressed Sir Michael Sadler with the erroneous view usually taken about the position of the Brontë sisters; he spoke of Charlotte as quite commonplace in conversation, as one of those with the gift of genius attached to an insignificant personality, and as "the lamp-bracket which holds the light"; Emily had probably more genius than Charlotte, but was self-centred and morose, and Anne tame and imitative. The following letter, written on April 27, 1924, to the late Sir Edmund Gosse, gives further evidence of his personal knowledge of the characteristics of the Brontë family:

MY DEAR GOSSE—Let me congratulate not yourself only but also the world of letters on your Brontë article in to-day's *Sunday Times*. Am I the only person living who knew Charlotte and the rest? as well as a boy ever knows a grown-up, and not a very expansive grown-up at that.

Charlotte Brontë was a frequent and quite homely visitor at Dewsbury Vicarage in my father's time as Vicar, and my Aunt Miss Wooler was Charlotte's closest and dearest friend. I have heard and been familiar with the whole Brontë "atmosphere" all my life—or all of so much of it as was contemporary with my Aunts and oldest cousins.

It was not Charlotte Brontë who was "Gey ill to live wi'" but *Emily*. No human being—and she was surrounded by the kindest of folk—could get on with Emily Brontë, but Charlotte Brontë was quite livcable with if you didn't mind her being—to us boys—as dull as a "governess" ought to be. But she was not *our* governess. Miss Wooler was a woman of unusual brains and accomplishments, especially a fine Italian scholar, though Mrs. Gaskell rather sets her down as no more than a goody-goody. This is the last thing Miss Wooler was. She was a keen-witted, ironical, and very independent Yorkshire woman, and although startled at first by

1836 the form of Charlotte Brontë's first literary venture, yet was never in any doubt about her rare endowments. I am writing all this irrelevanee to show that I have the "atmosphere". Well, to tell me that Branwell Brontë wrote "Wuthering Heights" is just monstrous. There was never a breath of doubt about Emily Brontë's whole authorship, nor of her ability to do it. I have heard the book discussed for years in its time, and should have heard any breath of *hesitation*. Emily Brontë being a most disagreeable woman—Charlotte Brontë the *only* person who could "get on with her"—people might not have been unwilling to diminish her glory—yet never a word! So far as I remember, I never saw Branwell Brontë, and he was rarely spoken of—just silence. Not merely because he was a bad egg—but because he was not credited with any of the family ability, or only some phosphorescence of it, he was just negligible, save as a thorn in other people's flesh. He seems to have been an irresponsible and boastful fellow. As to what a woman of genius can realize in scenes of savagery or degradation—I once discussed this with George Eliot in respect of the public scene in *Silas Marner*—these folk have some uncanny insight, a Cuvier-like faculty of *ex pede Herculem*.

Excuse this enormous and very hurried serawl (I am very busy). Kindest regards to Mrs. Gosse and yourself.—
Sincerely yours,

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

It was followed by a prompt reply from Sir Edmund Gosse.

17, HANOVER TERRACE,
REGENT'S PARK, N.W.1,
April 28, 1924.

DEAR SIR CLIFFORD—Your welcome letter is not merely very kind and encouraging, but it is definitely valuable as well. There can be no doubt that you are now the solitary survivor of those who knew the strange Brontë family personally. My dear old friend Lord Knutsford used to talk to me about Charlotte, and her visit to him. He remembered the green dress she is wearing in our National Portrait Gallery picture. But he was born eleven years earlier than

you were. How curious it is that there should still be so much universal curiosity about that bleak and queer trio of young women at Haworth. 1836

My wife thanks you for your very kind message, and we both hope you are well. I shall keep your charming letter as a historical document.

With best regards from yours very sincerely,

EDMUND GOSSE.

His sister, Marianne Allbutt, who was unmarried, predeceased him by about nineteen years and was buried in their father's grave at Debach-eum-Boulge, Suffolk, of which he was Rector at the time of his death. Thomas Allbutt's second wife was Sarah Isabella, daughter of Thomas Skelton of Highfield, Headingley; she was the widow of William Chadwick, elder brother of Dr. Charles Chadwick of Leeds, and an aunt of Lady Allbutt; there was no child of this second marriage. In after life Allbutt acknowledged the great debt he owed to the example and influence of his stepmother, and when honours came to him, expressed regret that his parents, who had made such sacrifices for him, could not share his pleasure.

The name Clifford was his godfather's, Edward Clifford, an artist, who married his father's sister, and whose son Edward, also an artist, painted the portrait of Lady Allbutt which, somewhat in the style of G. F. Watts, is so familiar to those who have been in the study at Cambridge. Long after, when preaching the evening sermon in Dewsbury Parish Church on November 7, 1920, he recalled his childish recollections of the village of Dewsbury with a beautiful little beck running through it past the vicarage gardens, where there were some stepping-stones to the parish clerk's dairy-farm on the other side, and so

1836 ran on to join the river Calder, where there was a pretty little strand of silver sand and shells. He then went on: "When I came back again some time later for my school holidays, the first thing I did was to run down to the little strand where we used to play, and I was very sad to see the dirty slime on the silver sand and dyes and soaps and all other foul things swimming down what was our pure rural river Calder. And from that time, by leaps and bounds, Dewsbury has grown, as this church has grown, from small beginnings into a great and populous and wealthy town—and I had almost said city. It is not for me to say what my father's part in that growth was, but he had the presence of God's spirit within him, and he was one of the practical saints." In those days the championship of bell-ringing lay between the ringers of Dewsbury Parish Church and those of Mottram in Cheshire; sometimes the prize went to one, sometimes to the other—often, Sir Clifford,¹ writing in February 1923, believed, to Dewsbury. "On prize competition days Church Street, Dewsbury, a fairly wide street, used to be packed with listeners, and very critical listeners they were. Almost everyone had note-book in hand to mark errors in the peal, and few escaped their vigilance. . . . It was curious, and not without historical causes, that the towers were regarded by the ringers as a domain separate from the church, and the tenor kept the keys. At Dewsbury a barrel of beer was on tap in the chamber; and for a ringer to stray into church must have seemed like a transgression of the etiquette of his calling." In another address²

¹ *Cambridge Rev.*, 1923, xlv. 230.

² "The Study of Tuberculosis: a Retrospect," *Brit. Journ. Tuberculosis*, London, 1907, i. 5-10.

of a retrospective character he recalled the fifteenth- 1836
century vicarage "built in a churchyard and priding
itself over the countryside in the sparkling water of
its well in the scullery—or should I have written
skullery". To this "sparkling water" he ascribed the
continued fever for which one of his five medical uncles
treated him by venesection, antimony, and mercury,
and left lifelong scars on his back from blisters.

He was allowed free access to the old-fashioned
surgeries of the two medical uncles in the neighbour-
hood, and became familiar not only with aromatic
jars and drawers, some of them with quaint old labels,
such as "mummy powder", "horn of unicorn", and
"erabs' eyes", but with the *Lancet*. When nine or ten
years old he would sit quiet for hours with the rather
fusty volumes on his knees, fascinated by the wood-
cuts of the mysterious convolutions of the brain, and
by the pungent controversies which were as the
breath of life to Thomas Wakley.

When a small boy it was thought that it would be
well for him to go to the Isle of Wight for a change
from the sterner and gloomier climate of the north,
and he became the child companion of his father's
cousin, a fragile lady who had gone to Ventnor be-
cause she had consumption. It was then that he had
his first experience of the treatment of tuberculosis,
and, as he many years later picturesquely described,
was "taught the art of embalming the air by stuffing
cotton wool about the doors and pasting paper about
the window panes." He received some teaching from
a private tutor there, and then in the summer of 1850
went to St. Peter's School, York, which is one of the
oldest schools in the country, the oldest school, the
King's School, at Canterbury, dating back to A.D. 598,

1850 the year after St. Augustine's mission. St. Peter's,¹ founded as long ago as 627, became a boarding-school during the mastership (750-78) of Albert "the Wise". The famous Alcuin, Albinus, or Ealwhine (735-804), who was born at York, educated at the school and subsequently its Master (778-82), was a most efficient educationalist and judge of teaching, for in 796 he made the previously decadent school at Tours, of which town he had been created Abbot, flourish so as to take the same position in France that the school at York had in England. He highly appreciated his predecessor's virtues, and wrote: "Whatever youths he found of eminent intelligence, these Albert joined to himself, he taught, he fed, he loved. To some he gave the art of science, of grammar, and poured into others the stream of the tongues of orators." It would almost seem as if this ancient inspiration influenced the young Allbutt, who afterwards was most insistent on the proper use of words. Allbutt went to St. Peter's School during the mastership (1844-64) of the much-beloved William Hey (1811-83), a former Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and subsequently Archdeacon of Cleveland and residentiary Canon of York, who was a good field naturalist and entomologist. Allbutt left the school, being in the sixth form, in 1855. In 1886, when the old Peterite Club was formed, he was an original Vice-President, and on June 30, 1903, opened the new science block; in his address he pointed out that the shortcomings of English education were in part due to the neglect of the methods of science, and that as a result the methods of teaching classics and mathematics were

¹ Raine, A., *History of St. Peter's School, York, from A.D. 627 to the Present Day*, 1926.

mediaeval. As a boy he had a small laboratory at home, and with intense curiosity carried out experiments on rats, thus making his relatives and friends foretell that he would go in for medicine. 1850-1855

Entering Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, on May 31, 1855, Allbutt gained a Caian scholarship in classics on June 24, 1856, but, as will be seen later, decided to read science rather than classics; on June 28, 1859, he was awarded a Mickleburgh scholarship in chemistry, and on June 8, 1860, "a Caian Scholarship for anatomy, to be made up to £50 for distinction in Natural Science". The Mickleburgh scholarship in chemistry was of the value of £20, and was tenable till the standing of M.A. Thus Allbutt was a scholar for the long period extending from Lady Day 1856 to Lady Day 1863, and it is fairly safe to assume that at a later date, when eminence in science had come to be more fully recognized as a claim for reward, he would have been elected to a Fellowship. Founded in 1756 by John Mickleburgh, B.D., Professor of Chemistry (1718-56), and a former scholar of Caius, this scholarship was "almost the first with conditions conceived in the modern spirit, *i.e.* limited by the subject of study, rather than by local or family considerations".¹ The College was then divided into two sets, one called the "Sims"—an abbreviation for the followers of Charles Simeon (1759-1836), the evangelical leader—with strong religious convictions, and the rest whose "unity depended only on a negative".

Among his contemporaries was W. H. Dickinson (1832-1913), who, having entered St. George's Hospital in 1851, came up to Caius in 1854 and took the

¹ Venn, J., *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, 1898, vol. ii. p. 325.

1856– M.B. in 1859; thus began a lifelong friendship between
 1860 two men very different in their outward aspects, Dickinson recalling Samuel Johnson, Allbutt remarkable for his courteous distinction. W. B. Cheadle, in Allbutt's year and, like Dickinson, a scholar, was subsequently physician to St. Mary's Hospital and a colleague of Dickinson's at the Great Ormond Street Hospital. One of his rather senior contemporaries was John Venn (1834–1923), afterwards President of the College, whom in an obituary notice Allbutt described as then "a rather pale, spare, alert, hard-reading young man with side whiskers and Gladstonian collars, after the freshmen of that date". Venn had an attack of smallpox and was nursed under the supervision of Dr. (later Sir) G. E. Paget (1809–92) in his College bedroom without any attempt to isolate him or his attendants, thus showing the state of medical opinion at that time. In the *Caiian* Allbutt wrote a short obituary of Sir George Hare Philipson (1836–1918), who entered Caius in 1858 and was afterwards Professor of Medicine and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham. Allbutt took the B.A. degree in 1859 (proceeding to M.A. in 1867), and in 1860 the Natural Sciences Tripos as a Middle Bachelor; he was the only one in the first class, gaining distinction in chemistry and geology. There were only six names altogether in the class list, a great contrast to modern conditions.¹ In the previous year there had been only three, two in the first class; Peter Wallwork Latham (1832–1923), also of Caius, with distinction in five subjects—chemistry,

¹ In 1928 there were 225 names (42 in the first class, 105 in the second, and 78 in the third class) in the first part of the Natural Sciences Tripos, and in the second part 77 names (25 in the first, 35 in the second, and 17 in the third class).

physiology, comparative anatomy, botany, and mineralogy — a record never equalled; the other name in the first class was that of George Henslowe, formerly (1866–90) lecturer on botany at St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical School. Latham, who was not any relation of the distinguished physicians John Latham (1761–1843) and his son Peter Mere Latham (1789–1875), was for a year assistant physician to the Westminster Hospital, but resigned in 1863 to return to Cambridge as physician to Addenbrooke's Hospital and medical lecturer at Downing College; eventually he became Downing Professor of Medicine (1874–94). His son Arthur (1867–1923) was physician to St. George's Hospital.

Allbutt went up to Cambridge with literary and artistic tastes rather more prominent than his scientific leanings; he was attracted by contrapuntal music and later was drawn to the Pre-Raphaelite movement, probably from reading *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847) by Lord Alexander William Lindsay (1812–80), subsequently Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. He indeed travelled in Italy with some idea of becoming an artist, but was disappointed with his power of expressing himself, though no doubt his artistic feeling played a part in the literary ability so manifest in his writings and speeches at a later date. He once gave some hint of this in the aphoristic sentence: "The best doctor is the best artist, and the best medical artist is the master, and not the servant of his science".¹ In connection with the analogy between music and medicine it has been pointed out that in addition to the necessary knowledge of their science it is essential that technique should be labori-

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1883, ii. 661.

1856-1860 ously practised; towards the close of his life Allbutt greatly impressed his medical colleague and attendant, Mr. Arthur Cooke of Cambridge, by saying: "The guiding star of my life has been industry, and any little success I may have had has been due to constant application" (*vide* p. 279).

The almost accidental reading of Auguste Comte's *Philosophie positive* transformed his outlook and determined his future life by turning his thoughts to science. Accordingly on November 5, 1858, he entered, as University men commonly did in those days, the Medical School of St. George's Hospital, his friendship with W. H. Dickinson very probably having also weighed with him in the choice of a medical school. By attending the teaching of Sir George Paget and Sir George Murray Humphry (1820-96) at Addenbrooke's Hospital he gained time, and after clerking in the medical wards for Henry Bence Jones (1814-1873) and H. W. Fuller (1820-73) at St. George's Hospital, and working with J. W. Ogle and Jacob A. Lockhart Clarke there, he was able to take the M.B. degree at Cambridge in 1861, the year after he had done so brilliantly in the Natural Sciences Tripos. He proceeded to the degree of M.D. in 1869. At this time, as he mentioned much later,¹ candidates for the final M.B. were not examined in surgery or even required to be signed up for attendance on surgical lectures. He never took the University licence to practise physic, which was not granted until a year after the M.B., for it had been discontinued in 1859.

But to return for a few moments to his teachers at St. George's: Bence Jones was a brilliant and whimsical personality, and, as a pupil of Liebig,

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1916, ii. 855.

preached the gospel of chemistry *in partibus infidelium*, in company with W. Prout (1785–1830) and Golding Bird (1814–54), and is still remembered in connection with the urinary protein found in multiple myeloma. While Bence Jones' clinical clerk Allbutt was much impressed by a case of acute aortitis which may first have suggested the aortic origin of angina pectoris so patiently argued by him from 1895 onwards. Long afterwards¹ he described Bence Jones as fascinating if somewhat extravagant, invariably unpunctual, hurrying up the stairs in the hospital three at a time, while the guineas collected in the morning, it was said, scattered out of his pockets as he flew, but an inspiring discipline to be associated with, and "like sheet lightning". Fuller was not a genius, but a kindly, competent teacher of empirical medicine and like "a fertilizing rain"; he was much interested in rheumatism and gout, and advocated the massive alkaline treatment of rheumatic fever before salicylates were employed.

John William Ogle (1824–1905), who was assistant physician to the hospital at this time and working keenly at pathology and nervous diseases, exerted a considerable influence on Allbutt; his interest in the application of the ophthalmoscope² to medicine must have attracted Allbutt to this subject, though the compelling suggestion admittedly came from Hughlings Jackson.³ Ogle certainly got him to write for the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*, of which he was editor, and for the now long extinct *St. George's Hospital Reports* (1866–79), which,

¹ *Lancet*, 1922, ii. 781.

² Ogle, J. W., *Med. Times and Gaz.*, 1860, i. 572-4.

³ *Vide* Allbutt, C., *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, ii. 1007.

1858- together with Timothy Holmes, he founded and
 1860 edited. Allbutt began a friendship with George Henry Lewes (1817-78), which lasted till terminated by death. He also worked with Jacob A. Loekhart Clarke (1817-80), who, living in Warwick Street, Pimlico, carried on his investigations on the histology and clinical features of nervous diseases, though not on the staff, at St. George's Hospital; this no doubt enabled Allbutt to benefit more rapidly than he otherwise would have done from the Paris clinic of G. B. A. Duchenne (of Boulogne), who introduced the term locomotor ataxia. Acting on Bence Jones' advice he spent a year in Paris in post-graduate study, and attended various clinics, especially that at the Hôtel-Dieu of Armand Trousseau (1801-67), who asked him to translate his famous *Clinique médicale* into English; this, however, he did not undertake, and eventually the translation was begun in 1868 by Dr. P. V. Bazire, who brought out the first volume for the New Sydenham Society; after his death the series was carried to completion by the late Sir John Rose Cormack.

Trousseau, as Allbutt said of him, set a much-needed example in draining pleuritic and pericarditic effusions, for in those far-off days blistering, not tapping, was in vogue, and it was not uncommon to see an empyema pointing. This led Allbutt,¹ as will be mentioned later, first to practise and then to preach the doctrine of draining and opening the pericardium, and in a letter to Sir Berkeley Moynihan, written on January 8, 1925, recalled how nearly sixty years earlier he got the late C. G. Wheelhouse in the

¹ *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1866, ii. 474; *Lancet*, 1869, i. 807; *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1870, ii. 31.

middle of the night to tap the pericardium in a mori- 1860
bund young man with rheumatic fever, whose life
was thus saved. While in Paris he also attended
G. B. A. Duehenne's (of Boulogne) clinic in the
Boulevard des Capueins, Bazin's and Hardy's practice
at St. Louis, and formed a warm friendship with
Maurice Raynaud, then interne at the Necker Hos-
pital, where, forty years before, Laennec had invented
the stethoscope. Duehenne's influence fed his life-
long interest in nervous diseases. An attractive
reminiscent account¹ of Duehenne (1806-75) ap-
peared in 1923 over his initials, and this draft of it
was found among his papers:

One summer morning in the year 1860 about 7.30 A.M.,
in the Hôtel-Dieu, Tuekwell of Oxford and I, pupils of
Trousseau, were there awaiting the Master when, as he
entered the ward with his usual punctuality, he was followed
by a little, quick, vigilant man whom he introduced to us
as M. le Docteur Duehenne de Boulogne. Duehenne held no
office in the Hôtel-Dieu, nor I think at that time in any
hospital of Paris, but Trousseau, with his invariable sym-
pathetic welcome for colleagues of energy and talents, had
discovered Duehenne and given him free clinical oppor-
tunities in his wards. Thus Duehenne was fortunate in a
great extension of the field of observation opened out to him,
and in his turn Trousseau was rewarded by much instruction
in a new field of research. Trousseau, as his manner was,
especially to his English pupils, had extended to me a very
kindly welcome; so quickly Duehenne and I became like-
wise more and more intimate friends. Duehenne's clinic at
that time was a remarkable crowd; how it was brought to-
gether and maintained I never quite knew, unless it were
that the magnetism and burning energy of the man, and
indeed the importance of his methods drew people to him
as moths to a flame. His apartment consisted of two or

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, i. 35.

1860 three low and narrow rooms or garrets in the mountainous top of a mansion of flats in the Boulevard des Capucins. That was not the age of lifts, yet day by day a large concourse of cripples from every Department of France clambered up to his consulting-rooms. How they got there I cannot imagine; the waiting-room was full before every visit: such was the ascendancy of the man. The busy clickings of the Faradæ machines, to which the sanguine little doctor attributed even more virtue than has since accrued to them, had also their fascination. Indeed those lively and penetrating machines had much in common with their no less lively and penetrating master.

The clinic, so far as I could judge from the class of persons whom I saw there, was, I suppose, wholly or mainly gratuitous. Duchenne was too ardent a lover of his work to make money his first consideration. He kindly encouraged me to attend his clinic regularly for some weeks, charging no fee. At that time at any rate I was his only student visitor and he had then no visible assistant. It was a wonderful experience to watch the gradual unravelling under his discerning eye of the several kinds of palsy which he described to the world later; a demonstration at once of our ignorance, of the richness of scientific promise, and of the methods of discovery. But with these few words I must be content; my purpose is only to recall some of the earliest memories of this great clinical investigator. The manifold and brilliant results of his researches dread no repetition.

In after years we saw a good deal of Duchenne; chiefly in Paris, once or twice in England. One of his visits was made on the importunity of Hughlings Jackson, Buzzard, G. H. Lewes, Gairdner, and myself; Duchenne was to give a demonstration before a gang of us neurologists. Duchenne started from home with a portmanteau which may have contained a few small pieces of raiment, but chiefly a collection of diseased bones from certain of his necropsies. This baggage, after his manner *en route*, Duchenne managed to lose, and he arrived in London in much agitation, as well he might seeing the nature of its contents; and he became

almost frantic when we failed to make light of the peril that he saw before him. We pictured the hubbub which would arise on the inevitable official examination of the portmanteau, for it so happened that about that time human remains, supposed to be those of a murdered man, had been found in a carpet-bag dropped into some dark pool of the Thames. Dear little man; it was wicked to tease him, but he was so childlike, so guileless, and so fiery. Happily ere long the portmanteau was restored to its owner intact, and the bones had to tell a different story from that which its anxious owner had imagined. 1861

The result of the teaching at l'Hôpital St. Louis can be traced in Allbutt's philosophical essay on "The Significance of Skin Affections in the Classification of Disease" in 1867.¹ Of this and his two other essays (1888, 1906) on nosology Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison² wrote: "They are *Zukunftsmusik* of an aspiration so exalted as to be, in mathematical phrase, asymptotic; wonderful visions into the medicine of the future which it will require post-bellum medicine (visibly 'limping across the state line') many decades to realize". In 1861 P. Ménière correlated the three symptoms of giddiness, vomiting, and deafness—the Ménière syndrome—with disease of the semicircular canals in the internal ear, and years later Allbutt³ drew attention to its frequency and obvious characters, gracefully adding that he did so because it was not recognized by "men with whom I would gladly believe myself to deserve comparison".

In a letter written on November 8, 1916, to Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison he gave some personal touches of his early experiences in Paris, and briefly men-

¹ *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1867, ii. 187-204.

² *Science*, N.Y., 1925, lxi. 330.

³ *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1874-76, vii. 111-22.

1861 tioned the incident of Duchenne's lost luggage, more fully told above.

ST. RADEGUNDS,
CAMBRIDGE.

DEAR DR. GARRISON—Your essay on Trousseau if small in bulk is big with interest, with history, and with fascinating biographical sketches. I knew Trousseau well, was a pupil of his—he affected the English student—and was to have translated his Lectures of the Hôtel-Dieu—this did not come off—I had to plunge into Leeds practising—and heavy fever epidemics. You will scarcely believe that at the Leeds Fever Hospital, where both typhus and typhoid were abundant, my senior colleagues, to a man, scouted my assertion of the differences. So also the primary contracted kidney (without large anasarca) was overlooked. I had the honour of introducing Trousseau's paracentesis into the Leeds Hospital (and so into England?) a task in which I was richly aided by Bowditch of Boston—my friend and liberal correspondent. Through Trousseau I knew Duchenne of Boulogne intimately, a mercurial and delightful person. We got Duchenne over to London one summer, when I gathered my friends Lockhart Clarke, G. H. Lewes, Hughlings Jackson, W. T. Gairdner, and others to meet him. He brought over a portmanteau full of bones, and lost it *en route* and his terror lest he should be apprehended as a murderer was very comic and we did not make the *least* of it, you may be sure. C. Bernard I no more than saw. Trousseau roused affection and all the admiration of his pupils, and it was rather a slow and disconcerting process (as also with Bazin and even Charcot, whom I knew most intimately of them all) to find the therapeuties which, systematized *on paper* by the French genius, was so lucid and convincing fell to pieces in practice. The *vertigo a stomacho laeso* (e.g.) was a jumble.—Yours very gratefully,

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

On returning to England in 1861 he was some time in London following the teaching of Sir William

Jenner (1815–98), but after consideration decided not 1861
to practise in London but to settle in Leeds, partly
on account of his family's extensive acquaintance
with Yorkshire people. In after years he received
many flattering overtures to come to London, and
there can be little doubt of the success that he
would have gained had he started there originally or
accepted these offers in the late 'seventies or early
'eighties (*vide* p. 96).

AS A CONSULTING PHYSICIAN IN LEEDS

(1861-1889)

1861 WHEN in 1861 he settled in Leeds, where the next twenty-eight years of steadily increasing activities were to be spent, he was at once recognized as not only extremely well informed in all the branches of his profession but in general and literary knowledge. It is said that he was regarded as somewhat of a dandy, and certainly he was always remarkable for the quiet distinction of his dress. Not strikingly good-looking in youth, he became more and more handsome as the years went by, and in later life had some resemblance to the portraits of the first Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. At first he lived at 13 East Parade with the late Thomas Marshall, M.A., of St. John's College, Oxford, who was Registrar in Bankruptcy and District Registrar, Leeds, and the father of Horace Marshall, Stipendiary Magistrate for Leeds, and with the late Edmund Wilson, a solicitor; these friends had similar literary and musical tastes. Marshall, who was a remarkably intellectual man, exerted a definite influence in these early days, as was gracefully acknowledged in his Harveian Oration, on Allbutt, who characteristically said to a younger man: "If ever you do get a chance of hearing Tom Marshall lecture, go", and this Professor T. Wardrop Griffith did and found that it was indeed "wonderful". All-

butt's name does not appear in the Medical Directory 1861 for 1862, in which, however, there is the name of George Allbutt, L.S.A. (1837) and M.R.C.S. (1847) of Batley, Dewsbury. In 1864 Allbutt had a consulting room at 12 Park Square, which may still be regarded as the Harley Street of Leeds.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Leeds House of Recovery on November 28, 1861, Allbutt was elected physician to the institution, his senior colleague being Dr. Charles Chadwick. This, in spite of a name rather suggesting a convalescent home, was one of the early fever hospitals to be established in this country, and diseases such as typhus and relapsing fever, now almost never seen, were then commonly admitted into its wards; at this time it was at Burmantofts, in the outskirts of Leeds, but in 1885 it ceased to be a charity and was taken over by the Leeds Corporation, being now at Seacroft. When opening a Home for nurses at Dewsbury on October 19, 1909, he described the nursing and nurses of more than forty years before at the Leeds House of Recovery; there were two wards, one for men, the other for women, each with forty beds, under the charge of three nurses, two for the day and one for the night work. "They were great, powerful, red-faced women, who all ate a great deal of beef and drank a great deal of beer, and lifted the patients as you would lift puppy dogs." The experience in the diagnosis of the acute fevers he then gained was obvious to the end of his life. To illustrate this, reference may be made to two events in his later years in Cambridge; in 1903 there was an outbreak of mild smallpox, now known as *alastrim* or *para-smallpox*, and there was some difference of opinion as to its

1861 nature; Allbutt rightly decided that the disease was smallpox, but some doubters contented themselves by speaking of it as "All-but smallpox". Again, early in 1919, when the naval cadets came up to take a course at Cambridge, and among the sixty who at once went down with epidemic influenza some manifested nervous symptoms, he recognized that cerebrospinal fever had broken out. Another early appointment he held was physician to the Leeds Dispensary. Some sixteen years after he began work at the Leeds House of Recovery, he wrote:¹ "When I was first called to the charge of medical wards nothing startled me more than the frequent deaths of patients from fevers and acute diseases, who, to a young observer, seemed likely to recover. A close perusal of the dead body gradually convinced me that such deaths are due not so much to the arrest of the part attacked or to the intensity of the poison as to some pre-existing diminution of the factor of safety." He then went on to show that the two organs most likely to fail were the heart and kidneys. Sixty years later, on February 17, 1925, only five days before his death, he wrote to Professor W. S. Thayer, of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, giving an account of an important practical point in nursing which he had made out in these far-off days: "I am just reading Dr. Blumer's article on thrombosis in Osler and McCrae's *Modern Medicine* (vol. iv.); and on thrombosis in typhoid fever (p. 528) you are quoted. When I had charge of the Leeds Fever Hospital I stopped all typhoid thrombosis by a simple rule. The patient on convalescing, as soon as he physically *can*, tries for relief by change of his posture, or by turning over, especii-

¹ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1877, ix. 279.

ally by first lifting one leg over the other. If a right- 1861
handed person, the right leg is put over the left (or
he turns on the left side as the weaker). Then comes
the *mechanical* cause. These thromboses are all in
early convalescence and generally on the left side.
Direct the nurse not to forbid this change of position,
but to put a pillow between the legs, and arrange the
legs so as not to press on each other. Thus we stopped
all these thromboses." This precaution, which he had
never seen mentioned in any book or essay, he pub-
lished for the first time in a letter to the *Lancet* in
April 1924. About 1867 he resigned the post of physi-
cian to the House of Recovery and was succeeded by
Dr. J. E. Eddison (1842-1929).

Very soon after his settling down in Leeds, All-
butt became prominent in the proceedings of the
Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and it may
be convenient to mention here his activities in con-
nection with it. In 1861-62 he was on the Council,
having succeeded T. Pridgin Teale as Curator of the
mammalian collection of the museum, gave a course
of juvenile lectures on the forms of plants and ani-
mals, and in 1863 delivered a lecture on physiognomy.
In 1874, when a *conversazione* was held with a special
exhibition of wood engravings and a fine collection of
Bewick's work, he delivered a lecture on the history
and methods of wood-carving; in 1878, when Presi-
dent, he delivered an address on "The Productive
Carecr of Great Men". In 1891, after he had left Leeds,
he lectured on "The Travels of Early Peoples; Trade
and War Routes", and in 1909 on "Bernard Palissy
as a Pioneer of Natural Science", a subject which he
expanded in his paper before the International His-
torical Congress in April 1913 in London dealing with

1861 "Palissy, Bacon, and the Revival of Natural Science". He was President from 1878 to 1881, being succeeded by his friend the Reverend John Gott (1830-1906), Vicar of Leeds (1873-85), and afterwards Bishop of Truro. At its centenary celebration in 1920, together with Sir T. E. Thorpe, Dr. J. E. Eddison, and T. Pridgin Teale, Allbutt was elected an honorary member and recorded his reminiscences.¹

On February 22, 1864, he was appointed physician to the Leeds General Infirmary on the premature death of Dr. Hardwick, who had been appointed physician in 1860, and in whose memory the "Hardwick Clinical Prize", to be awarded annually to the best student in clinical medicine, was founded in 1864. His colleagues were Drs. Charles Chadwick and John Deakin Heaton. On March 28 Thomas Nunneley, C. G. Wheelhouse, and T. Pridgin Teale (junior) were elected surgeons to the Leeds Infirmary, and with Mr. Samuel Hey, who had been surgeon since 1850, made up the surgical staff. The surgical elections seem from a letter in the *Lancet*² to have aroused some ill-feeling among the medical men in Leeds, but there was not any complaint about Allbutt's election. The Leeds Infirmary was founded in 1767 chiefly by the exertions of William Hey (1736-1819), F.R.S., a pupil of John Hunter; it was first in a small house, when Leeds had a population of 17,000, but within a year a new building was begun and was opened on the first of March 1771; this, spoken of as the Old Infirmary, was in existence when Sir Clifford was elected physician. But on March 29, 1864, the founda-

¹ *The History of 100 Years of Life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, by E. Kitson Clark, pp. 131-35, 1924.

² *Lancet*, 1864, i. 396.

tion stone of the present Infirmary was laid on a new 1864 site; in 1869 it was opened and was the first hospital in England to be built on the pavilion system, the architect being Sir Gilbert Scott (1811–78). Additions and extensions were made in 1892 and 1916, on the last occasion no less than five new operating theatres being erected. From 1767 to 1850 there was always a William Hey, father, son, and grandson, surgeon to the Leeds Infirmary, and the reputation established by the first was well maintained, so that, speaking generally, Leeds was more famous for surgery than for internal medicine. There was, however, one medical man who struck out a new line of work by writing the first systematic account in this country of industrial disease, the outcome of a great deal of careful observation. In 1831 C. Turner Thackrah, whose name does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, brought out a work of 126 pages with even for those times the unusually long title, “The Effects of the principal Arts, Trades and Professions and of the Civic States and Habits of Living on Health and Longevity with a particular reference to the Trades and Manufactures of Leeds, and Suggestions for the Removal of many of the Agents, which produce Disease, and shorten the Duration of Life”. While often quoting from Bernardino Ramazzini (1633–1714) of Padua, the author of *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba* (1700), Thackrah rightly said that as “scarcely anything had been published even on the employments common to England at large” he had “to enter a new track without guide or assistance”.

In a reminiscence letter on January 8, 1925, to Sir Berkeley (afterwards Lord) Moynihan of Leeds,

1864 whose address on "The Contributions of Leeds to Surgery", delivered on December 8, 1924, on the coming of age of the University of Leeds, had just been published,¹ Allbutt wrote:

I cannot refrain from teasing you with a letter of congratulation on your history of Leeds Surgery. It will be a classic, or at least a *locus classicus* for the future history of surgery. I must do more than thank you for your too kind words concerning myself. Such words from a friend, if too generous, are none the less very agreeable to read. I was glad to see full justice at last done to my old friend Mr. Jessop. He was Resident Medical Officer at the Old Infirmary when I was elected on the staff, and helped me in scores of ways, as I was a novice off whom he might have scored had he chosen to shew off! He made so great a reputation there (at the hospital) that on commencing practice he was almost mobbed. . . . In those days the Staff operated as a whole, all putting their dirty fingers into interesting wounds, and exhaling vapours from their unwashed woollen dressing-gowns! They frankly criticized each other *during* operation. . . . My association with Teale began with ophthalmic and pleuritic surgery; as a pupil of Trousseau I returned to Leeds with views about thoracic surgery; and, as Trousseau did his own thoracic surgery, I was doing likewise; but the physicians forbade it, to my only backer's (Teale) indignation. . . . You will hardly believe that then pleuritic effusions—even empyemas—were left to nature. . . . It was the imperative rule that every acute abdomen should be taken first to a medical ward! I stopped all that, and then as to effusions William Roberts of Manchester followed very ably. Then Teale and I took up serofula. You have no idea of the curse serofula was; girls going about like swine, both sides of the neck levelled up to the jaws; one of our first cases—an otherwise beautiful girl of one of the great Yorkshire houses—was not cleared until "after 14 operations".

¹ Moynihan, B., *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1925, i. 36-39.

Lord Moynihan's tribute to which Sir Clifford 1864 referred ran as follows:

Mr. Teale and Sir Clifford Allbutt formed the first alliance known to me in this country. They were pioneers of "team work". Sir Clifford, the most deeply learned physician of this day, master of a style of English which for sheer beauty and majesty is perhaps unmatched by that of any scientific author of our generation; an orator whose speech makes Time seem hasty; a cultured, upright, English gentleman, is the pride of the school he served so long and loves so well. Mr. Teale was the authentic product of Winchester and Oxford, and I know nothing better than that. He was the flawless example of intellectual and moral integrity. He was modest, cautious, reserved; free from any jealousies, ready with words of encouragement, and an occasional word of praise.

During the busy years, from 1864 to 1884, of physiciancy to the Infirmary, Allbutt held many posts in the Medical School, which was founded in 1831. In July 1864 he was elected a member of the Council of the Medical School, a lecturer in the Principles and Practice of Physic, Materia Medica, and Therapeutics, and Curator of the Materia Medica Museum; in 1866 he also became Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy and held this post until 1878; in 1868 the title of the Lectureship in the Principles and Practice of Physic was changed to Medicine, and Allbutt ceased to teach materia medica. In 1875 he also lectured on Clinical Medicine. These lectureships he resigned in 1884, when he became Consulting Physician to the Infirmary, but from 1883 to 1887 he was President of the Council of the School of Medicine.

The consulting medical practice in Leeds was practically a one-man privilege; Dr. Hobson, who was physician to the Infirmary from 1832 to 1842,

1864 was in this pre-eminent position, and was succeeded in this preserve by Dr. Charles Chadwick, physician to the Infirmary from 1842 to 1871, and when he retired from practice in 1874 Allbutt naturally took the lead. Until this time he had to go through the trying period of waiting, and indeed at one time debated whether he could hold on, for he had set up as a consultant from the first. In his address¹ at St. George's Hospital in 1889, after he had left Leeds and was a Commissioner in Lunacy, he touched lightly on his early experiences when speaking of the real advantages of youth as seen in retrospect: "I try sometimes to comfort myself in my age by remembrance of my tingling resentments when, in the former years of my practice—and they seem but as yesterday—I was politely postponed as too young for confidences". But he utilized the time by reading widely and writing many articles of the nature of essay-reviews in the *Quarterly*, the *Westminster*, and other reviews, and contributed to the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* and to the *St. George's Hospital Reports*, these two medical publications being edited by his friend and former teacher the late J. W. Ogle. Being thus able to sympathize fully with young men in a similar position, he in later years often advised them to sow the seeds of success during these lean years by reading not only professional but good general literature, and to hold on, if necessary, as he expressed it, by "eating their boots". The habit of omnivorous reading and making critical notes on what he read, and thus storing up material for future use, remained with him throughout life. As he read he often annotated the books, as is particularly well

¹ Allbutt, T. C., *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1889, ii. 754.

shown in his own copies of James Maekenzie's *Future of Medicine* (1919) and monograph on *Angina Pectoris* (1923); his copy of *The Future of Medicine*, in which the general practitioner is held up as being in the best position to carry out clinical research, is freely annotated with criticisms showing the difficulties that attend this ideal. His intellectual activity in these early days in which, as he afterwards said, he "was chiefly living on hope", was most remarkable. In 1864 he wrote a long article on "Construction and Degeneration",¹ in two parts, the second with special reference to the lungs, and in the next year he was the author of "The Probable Conditions (Past and Present) of the Lunar Surface".² Other evidences of his consistent industry are given chronologically.

There was founded at Leeds in 1849 a somewhat exclusive dining club called the Conversation Club, with twelve members, thus by its title recalling the famous Cambridge Conversation Society, irreverently known as "The Apostles", which veiled all its proceedings in modest mystery; Tennyson, Hallam, F. D. Mauriec, and John Sterling were early members (1828-30),³ and it is probably referred to by Tennyson in connection with A. H. Hallam in the lines:

"Where once we held debate, a band
Of youthful friends, on mind and art,
And labour, and the changing mart,
And all the framework of the land".

In Memoriam, stanza lxxxvii.,

and is mentioned in Thackeray's *Book of Snobs*.

The Leeds Conversation Club met at the houses

¹ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1864, xxxiii. 509; xxxiv. 34.

² *Quart. Journ. Sc.*, 1865, ii. 753.

³ *Alfred Lord Tennyson: a Memoir by his Son*, p. 42, 1897.

1864 of the members in turn, once a month, for supper, which, according to the rules, "it is understood should be simple and inexpensive", but there is reason to believe that this understanding became somewhat of a dead letter, and that there was considerable rivalry in providing the most attractive hospitality. After an hour for supper, two hours were devoted to general conversation. Allbutt's election to the Club, from which one blackball excluded, took place on April 26, 1864; he resigned on June 27, 1871, but was re-elected on December 22, 1885, and finally resigned on April 30, 1889, being the only member of whom, according to Mr. E. Kitson Clark, there is a record of re-election after resignation. Among the subjects, during his very regular attendance, which he proposed for discussion were: "Is it desirable at once to abandon the transportation of criminals to Australia?" "Is it desirable that ladies should remain uneducated?" "Is it vital for England to prevent Russia occupying Constantinople?" "Can a novelist do otherwise than reproduce characters that he has known?" The last subject is of interest in connection with Sir James Paget's remark, when informed by George Henry Lewes that George Eliot had not any acquaintance in any degree resembling Lydgate, that "it was like assisting at the creation—a universe formed out of nothing" (*vide* p. 61). Allbutt was also a member of the Leeds and County Club, and had an extensive acquaintance among the lay residents such as the Luptons, Marshalls, T. S. Kennedy, C. E. Bousfield, John Horsfall. He was subsequently a Deputy-Lieutenant for Yorkshire. In 1862 he was one of the founders of the Leeds Medical Club, which in 1872 became merged in the Leeds and West Riding Medico-Chirurgical Society.

1866

IN this year Allbutt became a Fellow of the Royal 1866 Medical and Chirurgical Society of London and contributed two papers published in its *Transactions*: one on premature menstruation in a child aged 18 months, accompanied by fever which proved fatal;¹ the other, on a case of myeloid transformation of the lungs,² showed, as Drs. Wilks and W. Moxon's examination of fragments of the growth confirmed, the structure of a myeloid tumour, such as occurs in the head of the tibia. During this year an historical essay on the medicine of the Greeks³ appeared from Allbutt's pen, and was the product of reading done during the waiting time which all young consultants have to go through; the value of this work was shown by his subsequent papers, especially his FitzPatrick Lectures (1909–10) on "Greek Medicine in Rome" more than forty years later at the Royal College of Physicians of London. A striking feature in his life's work was the persistent way in which he returned to and expanded any subject on which he wrote; this is well shown by the progressive development and expansion of the scope of his writings on cardiovascular and nervous diseases, tuberculosis, and medical history.

¹ *Med.-Chir. Trans.*, 1866, xlix. 161.

² *Ibid.*, 1866, xlix. 165.

³ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1866, xxxvii. 170; xxxviii. 483.

1866 In November he published a case of pericarditis with an effusion¹ causing such distress that death seemed imminent; at his request his colleague, C. G. Wheelhouse, performed paracentesis of the pericardium with complete success. The pericardium was punctured with a trocar and cannula instead of employing a bistoury, as Trousseau recommended. Allbutt remarked that this case showed how necessary it is for a physician to have a useful knowledge of the resources of the surgeon, and that nothing was more unfortunate than this division between the two great departments of the healing art, whereby a mere arrangement of convenience had been made a real distinction, thus encouraging at the very outset of a student's career a narrowness of thought and an incompleteness of education, most mischievous to the best interests of the profession. This artificial distinction between medical and surgical treatment was more fully considered by him in the address in 1904 at St. Louis on "The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery". The surgical treatment of pericarditis with effusion was thus brought to the notice of the profession in this country, and subsequently Allbutt returned to the subject on several occasions.

In 1865-66 there was an epidemic of typhus fever at Leeds, and he treated a number of cases in the Leeds House of Recovery with much success by open-air methods, being supported in this, at that time rather daring and revolutionary, form of treatment, for nothing was known of the open-air treatment of fever cases, which were sheltered and coddled, by hearing that in Ireland many victims of this disease

¹ *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1866, ii. 474.

"laid out on the roadsides to die, unexpectedly recovered, to the great discomfiture of their heirs-at-law". During the seven months October 1, 1865, to April 30, 1866, there were 626 patients admitted and, excluding those dying within 72 hours of admission, because so many were admitted in a moribund condition and kept alive by stimulants and good nursing for one, two, three, or, if young, even more days, the mortality was 8 per cent. All the house physicians were attacked and three of them died. The cases seen in private practice were, he noted,¹ "on the average of a more dangerous kind, and the mortality higher. In persons accustomed to live by the use of the brain the weight of the disease often fell upon that organ, causing cerebral and cerebro-spinal disturbances of an unmanageable and incalculable character, which tended to death. Among those who lived by bodily labour and had no brains to speak of, the disease fell chiefly upon the muscular system, causing failure at the heart, and general animal and organic prostration; symptoms more easy to combat, and more easily foreseen in their variations and issues." The measures adopted were: "(1) an unusual supply of fresh air night and day throughout the hospital, all fear of draughts being disregarded;² (2) regular nursing and feeding,

¹ "Notes on an Epidemic of Typhus at Leeds in the year 1865-66", *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1866, i. 61-70.

² On April 15, 1915, when typhus was raging in Serbia, a letter from Allbutt appeared in "The Times" strongly urging that every typhus patient should be carried out into the open and that in wet weather a waterproof coverlid would be sufficient protection. He then recalled his practice at Leeds, saying that he clothed the staff warmly and had all the windows taken out of the building or clamped widely open with screws, and that the mortality of all cases fell promptly from 16.17 to 6.7 per cent. In a letter written in 1870 about the wards he said: "The nurses had to wear bonnets or other head-coverings, and the breezes played freely around the beds".

1866 and the use, when necessary, of the best cognac brandy in addition; (3) prevention by morphia, if possible, of a second sleepless night, at whatever stage of the fever it may be threatened; (4) the use of a combination of camphor and morphia in low delirium; and (5) of a combination of tartar emetic and morphia in wild delirium". Originally doubtful about the use of opium in fevers, he found it difficult to express, without apparent exaggeration, its value, for though morphine was given freely, no bad effects were ever observed, and, as he said, "the sleep of an opiate is better than no sleep".

As showing the change in the practice of medicine, it may be noted that he specially quoted six cases in which the patients' temperature was taken with a thermometer at stated times daily—not a routine practice then. The history of the clinical thermometer is rather remarkable, for though it was employed in the seventeenth century, it did not come into general use until the second half of the nineteenth century, and then really as a result of Allbutt's invention of the present short clinical thermometer. Sanctorius in 1638 constructed one and advocated its use in the diagnosis of disease, correlating variations in bodily temperatures and weight, and thus was much in advance of his time as a seer of metabolism; du Val of Paris constructed a clinical thermometer 3 inches in length and 3 or 4 lines in diameter, the central tube for the mercury being half a line in diameter (Gunther¹). This was shown at a meeting of the Oxford Philosophical Society on May 13, 1684. Van Swieten (1700–72) used Fahrenheit's mercurial thermometer, invented in 1720, for register-

¹ *Early Science in Oxford*, 1925, iv. 66.

ing the mouth and axillary temperatures. George Martine¹ in 1740 published a remarkable series of thermometric observations, and James Currie (1756–1805), of Liverpool and cold bath fame, brought out a series of observations on clinical thermometry in 1799. In 1852 a clinical thermometer was described by John Spurgin (1797–1866), physician to the Foundling Hospital, and Professor William Aitkin (1825–92) of Netley had used a clinical thermometer made for him by Casella; but it was 10 inches long and too cumbrous for general use, “like a short umbrella”, as Allbutt afterwards described it. John Davy (1790–1868) in his *Physiological Researches* (1863) brought out his observations on the bodily temperature in various parts of the world, and in 1865 Sidney Ringer published his work on *The Temperature of the Body as a Means of Diagnosis of Phthisis, Measles, and Tuberculosis*. The appearance in 1868 of C. A. Wunderlich’s *Das Verhalten der Eigenwärme in Krankheiten* (translated in the New Sydenham Society’s Library, 1871) was a stimulus to the study of clinical thermometry and formed the basis for an elaborate essay² on the subject by Allbutt, in which he includes the history of his short clinical thermometer. Wunderlich employed a thermometer nearly a foot long and left it in the patients’ axilla for 20 to 25 minutes, and most patiently made these observations for twenty years before he brought out his monograph. Such a time-consuming process was not adapted for ordinary practice, and, as already said, what really rendered its general use possible was the short clinical thermometer. In 1867 Allbutt

¹ *Essays and Observations on the Construction and Graduation of Thermometers and on the Heating and Cooling of Bodies*, 1740.

² *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1870, xlv. 429; xlvi. 144

1866 had made by Messrs. Harvey & Reynolds of 13 Brig-gate, Leeds, a short clinical thermometer which was kept in the axilla for five minutes and at first was 6 inches long and cost 7s. 6d. in a case.¹ Previously he had carried it in a wooden stethoscope. A little later it was shortened to 4 and then to 3 inches, thus resembling du Val's instrument in 1683. The experiment of marking it with the Centigrade scale, introduced by Celsius in 1742, instead of the Fahrenheit scale, for which Allbutt expressed disapproval, at once stopped its sale. The 3-inch-long clinical thermometer marked with the Fahrenheit scale was sold in large numbers by Reynolds & Branson of Leeds and Hawksley of London. A description of Allbutt's thermometer was given in the *Catalogue of the Museum of Scientific Apparatus, South Kensington*, 1876.

In his account of this typhus epidemic Allbutt mentioned a point, on which subsequently he often laid stress, in the following words: "We are now but just awakening from the metaphysical delusion that diseases are separate entities; and have scarcely rubbed our eyes free from the tendency to see in each disease, or even in each stage of a morbid process, a fixed species, having no genetic affinities to any other".

A few months before his death he sent Dr. Alan Gray of Cambridge some reminiscences² of Edmund Schulze and the organ now in St. Bartholomew's Church, Armley, near Leeds, which show that among his varied interests and tastes was a great love of music and of organs:

In the year 1866 I was climbing in Switzerland with my old friend and frequent travelling companion, Mr. T. S.

¹ Allbutt, T. C., *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1867, i. 182.

² *The Organ*, London, 1925, v. 78.

Kennedy, of Meanwood, near Leeds. He had a great love for 1866
Bach and the organ, and had often heard us talking about Schulze. At the end of a month's beautiful weather we had climbed to our heart's content, and Christian and Ulrich Almer had to leave us for other engagements.

While at breakfast we were talking of our plans. Kennedy suddenly exclaimed, "Let us go and see Schulze". The proposal was promptly adopted; we paid our bills and set out by rail for Coburg, whence we took a carriage to Paulinzelle. At that time Pugin the younger was building a house for Mr. Kennedy at Meanwood. Kennedy was himself no performer, but as Mrs. Kennedy was a good musician and pianist, and was taking up organ-playing with enthusiasm and success, it had been decided that an organ should be built for the new home.

In the same lovely weather we drove through the uplands and woodlands of Thuringia till we arrived on a certain hill-top whence we looked down upon a village in a dale not very far from Weimar; a little way out of the village beside a stream running down from a glen in the Schwarzburg we saw the organ works of the brothers Schulze, whose father had been an organ builder there before them. In a rustic building with a small water-wheel, little more than a roomy carpenter's shop, we were fortunate enough to find the artist at home; he had just returned from the completion of the large organ at Soest, in Westphalia. The personal staff seemed to consist only of Edmund himself, his brother, the carpenter and cabinet-maker, a labourer or two, and a clever, gamesome, and rather uncanny black poodle who became the father of a line of black poodles which afterwards under such names as Styx, Pluto, Charon, and so forth, was known long and well in our village. Edmund was a little below middle height, a slightly built, iron-grey, rather pallid man with the slight stoop that one often sees in craftsmen. He was also rather flat-chested, and his aspect suggested a liability to the pulmonary disease which later brought his beneficent life to a premature end.

The weather was still delightful, and we passed an idyllic

1866 two days with this simple-hearted and gifted family in their beautiful home; some hours we spent with them on the hills, some in the humming shop by the little beek, but all in the spirit of the organ and its great masters. Of these, Edmund Schulze was one of the chief as an organ creator. He always denied any skill as an organist, and would never do more than wander prettily on the keys to test his pipes and build-up, and this usually when out of hearing. In the shop was the carcase and some of the flue work for an order in hand. On this frame and amid its pipes he would chat with us by the hour; but the desired secret, the secret of genius, the magical touch of mind, ear, and finger, remained incommunicable.

In these happy hours decisions were soon made. Schulze & Sons were to build a four-manual organ for Meanwood, but on a scale too big for the house. Pugin the younger was therefore to build a tabernacle for the organ near by. The specification and other conditions were practically settled; Schulze was to have a free hand, except as regarded the reeds. Kennedy wished to have the flue-work from Schulze, but the reeds from Cavaillé-Coll, and to this condition Schulze neither made nor signified any objection whatever. He spoke with admiration of Cavaillé-Coll's work, and quite understood Kennedy's desire to get the reeds from him. So we were to see Cavaillé-Coll in Paris on the way back.

1867

In this year a philosophic essay on "The Significance of Skin Affections in the Classification of Disease"¹ appeared over his name; of this and two further articles on the same subject, Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison² wrote: "On this terrain he was unrivalled, his only possible competitor being William Farr, whose classification of diseases was adopted by Billings and Fletcher in the *Index Medicus*". In a

¹ *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1867, ii. 187-204.

² *Science*, N.Y., 1925, lxi. 330.

published clinical lecture¹ on the remedial uses of the *Prunus virginiana* or American wild cherry, with some further remarks on diseases of the heart, he concluded that this drug exerts a special tonic and calming power on the arterial system. In May he wrote on "The Ophthalmoscope in the Physicians' Practice at the Leeds Infirmary",² reporting on cases of tabes, epilepsy, and nephritis under his care and that of his colleague T. Pridgin Teale; he was thus laying the foundations of his monograph on medical ophthalmology which appeared four years later (*vide* p. 56). His election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries took place on May 30, but he was not formally admitted until January 1890. On June 3 he read a paper on the prevention of typhus by the improvement of the dwellings of the poor before the Epidemiological Society, and mentioned that a company was being started in Leeds to provide healthy accommodation at a low rental for the poor, and that a block of buildings had been erected in St. Ann's Square with an average cubic space of 980 feet for the rooms.

His father, who in 1862 had been obliged by failing health to exchange the Vicarage of Dewsbury, where he had worked devotedly since 1835, for the quiet living of Debach-cum-Boulge, near Woodbridge, in Suffolk, was now taken seriously ill, and his son hurried to his bedside and watched over him constantly for the remaining five weeks of his life.

1868

At the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society on February 22 he read a paper, with extensive lists of

¹ *Med. Times and Gaz.*, 1867, i. 161, 217.

² Teale, T. P., *ibid.*, 1867, i. 494.

1868 clinical observations, on the state of the optic nerves and retinae as seen in the insane.¹ This was the result of examinations made during the second half of 1867 at the West Riding Lunatic Asylum, Wakefield, and at the North and East Riding Asylum, Clifton, near York. His interest in the morbid anatomy of the nervous system is shown by the exhibition of two cases of tumours of the pons varolii.²

In this year he gave the first description of the histological changes in syphilitic disease of the cerebral arteries; but this important observation, probably because of a feeling of gratitude to one of the editors, Dr. J. W. Ogle, was modestly published and somewhat buried in the now long-extinct *St. George's Hospital Reports*³ and did not attract the attention it deserved, so that Heubner, who wrote on the same subject in 1874, was widely regarded as the first observer of the lesion. Heubner, who described the condition as endarteritis in ignorance of Allbutt's article, courteously referred to his work in subsequent papers. Allbutt quoted a letter from Dr. (later Sir) Samuel Wilks: "I believe I have seen two or three undoubted cases of syphilitic disease of the arteries. In all probability it is not uncommon, but the change in the vessels not being a characteristic one, I cannot speak with certainty." This opinion from a foremost pathologist of the day, who obtained the F.R.S. for his observations on visceral syphilis, shows the real advance made in this respect by Allbutt's microscopical observation. In 1872 he showed these microscope slides before the Pathological Society of London,⁴

¹ *Med.-Chir. Trans.*, 1868, li. 97-142.

² *Trans. Path. Soc. London*, 1868, xix. 20.

³ *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1868, iii. 55-65.

⁴ *Trans. Path. Soc. London*, 1872, xxii. 16.

and it may well be that he was urged by his 1868 friends to do so. The pathological aspect of neurology was supplemented by laborious clinical observation, especially at the West Riding Asylum, where the Superintendent, Dr. (afterwards Sir) James Crichton-Browne, gave him every opportunity in this respect. A series of six lectures, published during this year, on "Optic Neuritis as a Symptom of Disease of the Brain and Spinal Cord",¹ as well as one on "Optic Neuritis in Pyaemia",² showed that he was busily collecting material for his monograph on medical ophthalmology published in 1871.

In this year the British Medical Association met at Oxford with Sir Henry Acland, Regius Professor of Medicine, as President, and Sir William Jenner as President of the Section of Medicine. Allbutt read a paper on locomotor ataxia, and was followed by his old teachers, Lockhart Clarke and Duchenne of Boulogne; there was, however, considerable diversity of opinion, which Allbutt summed up when in the following year his contribution entitled "Remarks on the Phenomena of Locomotor Ataxia, with an Appendix relative to the Discussion", was published.³ This is presumably the occasion of Duchenne's loss of his baggage containing many pathological specimens when on a visit to this country (*vide* p. 16). In the autumn he wrote a letter⁴ about the good results of the open-air treatment of typhus and typhoid fevers, and smallpox in the Leeds House of Recovery (*vide* p. 32), and added that he had never thought it advisable to try this method in scarlet

¹ *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1868, i. 495, 521, 574, 628; ii. 64, 116.

² *Ibid.*, 1868, i. 691.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1869, i. 157.

⁴ *Lancet*, 1868, ii. 814.

1868 fever and measles, as it might do more harm than good. His old college friend W. H. Dickinson and he corresponded in public with much politeness on the subject of longevity, the exchange of letters¹ extending into the following year.

1869

In April he wrote on the subject of dying declarations,² giving his experience in criminal cases, and in May he contributed a long account of the diagnostic value of the ophthalmoscope in tuberculous meningitis.³ A number of cases of nervous disease under his care were also published in this month.⁴ In June he followed up the subject of tapping the pericardium, of which, in 1866, he had been the pioneer in this country, by a clinical lecture on a case in which paracentesis was twice performed, but unfortunately death supervened.⁵

Syphilitic disease of the nervous system, to which he had made a valuable contribution the year before, was the subject of a further paper containing reports of cases and a review of current knowledge.⁶ He also published a case of Chareot's tabetic hydrarthrosis,⁷ which he had shown to Chareot when he visited Leeds, and was the first case reported in this country after Chareot described it in 1868.

In 1869, under the Presidency of Dr. Charles

¹ *Lancet*, 1868, ii. 623; 1869, i. 33.

² *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1869, i. 421.

³ *Lancet*, 1869, i. 596, 632.

⁴ *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1869, i. 491.

⁵ *Lancet*, 1869, i. 807.

⁶ *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1869, iv. 45-60.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1869, iv. 259; *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1869, i. 157.

Chadwick, the annual meeting of the British Medical Association was held, for the first time in its existence, at Leeds, and Allbutt began his many services to the Association by being secretary to the Medical Section, of which Dr. (afterwards Sir) W. T. Gairdner, Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow, was President, and Sir John T. Banks, afterwards Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin, Vice-President, so that there was a gathering of Regius Professors present and future. The other secretary was H. C. Bastian, of University College Hospital. Allbutt had staying with him his old teacher, Lockhart Clarke, W. T. Gairdner, and William Broadbent. In the Medical Section Allbutt read a paper on the propagation of enteric fever,¹ which after his death was described as "a model of its kind even to-day" of the elucidation of water-borne epidemics of enteric fever.² It was based on investigations made in April 1869 into the nature of the fever prevalent at the Flounders Institute and in Ackworth, and those made in May of the same year at Tadcaster. When his paper was published, Dr. (afterwards Sir) R. Thorne Thorne rather vigorously criticized the data on which the conclusion of the water-borne spread of the disease was based. Allbutt defended himself with politeness and urbanity. About this time he began to practise gastric lavage in the Leeds Infirmary after having seen Kussmaul's paper on the subject.

On September 15 he was married at Wecton, near Harewood, to Susan, daughter of Thomas England

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1870, i. 308, 480.

² Obituary (unsigned), *Journ. Path. and Bacteriol.*, Edin., 1925, xxviii. 681.

1869 of Headingley, Leeds, the best man being Mr. Alan Lupton. They first lived at 38 Park Square for a time and then moved to Lyddon Hall in Virginia Road, which after they left it was occupied mainly by medical students of the Yorkshire College, and now, considerably expanded, accommodates the women students of Leeds University. They had not any children.

In December he recommended morphine in the distress and dyspnoea of cardiac disease;¹ this was a courageous and independent attitude to take up in the face of the dread it then inspired among his professional brethren who did not employ it in these cases. Its beneficial effect in cardiac disease was, he believed, first noticed by his friend T. Pridgin Teale by the accident of giving a subcutaneous injection of morphine for a painful ulcer to a patient who also had heart disease. In practising this new departure, Allbutt wrote: "From small and timid beginnings I have gone forward with this marvellous remedy". He preferred morphine to opium and gave it, as already said, by the then comparatively new method of hypodermic injection, the syringe invented in 1844 by F. Rynd of Dublin not having attracted attention until in 1855 Alexander Wood (1817-84) of Edinburgh wrote a small book on the subject of hypodermic injection for the relief of neuralgia, and described a syringe constructed on the model of a bee's sting. Allbutt had given it in the failing heart of granular kidney, but did not advise this treatment. Earlier in the year he had advocated the hypodermic injection of morphine in dyspepsia,² believing that this treatment had not previously been employed;

¹ *Practitioner*, 1869, iii. 342.

² *Ibid.*, 1869, ii. 341.

but in December of the following year, in a further 1869 article,¹ he was almost the first to call attention to the bad effects of repeated injections of morphine, and referred to a number of neuralgic patients who were addicts to the habit. As showing the general professional state of mind when Allbutt was a junior on the staff of the Leeds Infirmary, it is interesting to recall that some few years earlier, when hypodermic medication was in its infancy, the senior physician solemnly called his colleagues together to consider the weighty question whether the physician should give the hypodermic injection with his own hands or call in a surgeon to perform this function.

1870

In January he published a paper on the ophthalmological signs of spinal disease and injury,² a subject included in his great work on medical ophthalmology which was nearing completion and came out in the following year. This year saw the appearance of his first and very important, because pioneer, paper "On the Effects of Overwork and Strain on the Heart and Great Blood-vessels".³ Though at first accepting the general opinion that heart disease in the young was due to acute rheumatism and in the old to atheroma, he had become impressed with the large number of cases of cardio-vascular disease in young well-made subjects, of healthy build, previously unaffected by constitutional disease, and after a time came to the conclusion that mechanical strain was an important factor in their condition. He gave examples of

¹ *Practitioner*, 1870, v. 327.

² *Lancet*, 1870, i. 76.

³ *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1870, v. 23-53.

1870 mitral and aortic incompetence and of aneurysm thus caused, and was surprised to find so little reference to this factor in the best works on heart disease. After mentioning the works of James Hope (1839), A. B. R. Myers (1870), and of T. B. Peacock (1865), the last of whom drew attention to the frequency of cardiac failure among Cornish miners, and ascribed it chiefly to strain caused by climbing long ladders at the close of the day's work, he remarked: "The only thing I have learnt from my references to about twenty English authorities is the disagreeable fact that authors have a calm way of reproducing portions of the writings of their predecessors without acknowledgement and apparently without verification". This paper was afterwards published separately by Messrs. Macmillans and translated into German by Doctor Seitz of Zürich in 1874. This subject he elaborated in after years in his articles in the two editions of his *System of Medicine* (1898, 1909).

On May 3 he attended a commemoration dinner of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society with one of the original founders of the Society in 1818, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Baines (1800-90), M.P., in the chair. The President of the Society at the time was John Deakin Heaton (1817-80), M.D., Allbutt's senior colleague at the Infirmary.

The Thruston Speech (on the progress of medicine from the time of Dr. Caius) at Gonville and Caius College was delivered in the College chapel on May 11 by Allbutt. In this eloquent oration on "The Progress of the Art of Medicine", adorned with quotations from Greek, Latin, French, and from Whewell, the great Master of Trinity, he started from Hippo-

¹ *Lancet*, 1870, ii. 37-39.

cratic times, and showed first that our theories of 1870 the nature of disease are undergoing a great change, which must wholly transform our notions of dealing with it; secondly, that the new study of pathology or morbid physiology, while revealing the modes of disease in the body, likewise points the way to cure or prevention; and thirdly, with a prophetic eye, that chemical inquiry is now finding the way into many of the remoter secrets of function, and is likely before long to establish some laws of molecular constitution, which will enable known researches to be classified, their actions to be explained and calculated, and ultimately the construction of some sort of canon for the discovery and adaptation of remedies, "an achievement which would at once raise Medicine into the front rank of intellectual pursuits". After insisting that disease is not something with an independent existence, but is "the living body in a peculiar state", he went on: "The modern physician—*minister, non magister naturae*—says: 'The body and its functions are thrown off equilibrium, and it is not for me to expel or counteract this or the other, but to put the body in such a position that it may most quickly recover its own balance'." This fundamental principle of the nature of disease Allbutt never tired of emphasizing. The annual Thruston "Speech" was afterwards altered into a prize (£54) awarded triennially to that member of the College (of not more than fifteen years' standing from matriculation) who in the preceding three years has published the best original investigation in physiology, pathology, or practical medicine. At the present time the award takes the form of a medal and a grant for research in the subjects named.

1870 In a published paper¹ he insisted on the value in cachectic cases of syphilis of infusion of sarsaparilla when given in large doses of one to three pints daily, as had been the custom at the Leeds Infirmary for a quarter of a century, instead of the usual dose of one ounce three times a day. In the course of a letter² referring to the delay for twenty-four hours of the effect of chloral, he added: "In valvular disease of the heart, in which I have largely used the hypodermic morphia, I generally, or at least very often, find the results of the second night better than those of the first".

In "Some Remarks on Paracentesis Pericardii"³ in connection with a case recorded by his friend and senior colleague the late Dr. J. D. Heaton, in which paracentesis was not recommended, Allbutt defended this method of treatment; and after mentioning that, as far as he knew, the only two cases so treated in this country had been on his recommendation, recalled Trousseau's advice given to him on two occasions: "If the need ever arise with you, tap the pericardium; the operation has never yet had a fair trial". The operation had, he said, been occasionally performed on the Continent, but generally in chronic cases as a last resource, and had "had the success which belongs to last resources, or indeed something more; for Trousseau, Champouillon, and Aran had each a successful case, with recovery". An annotation in the *Lancet* in this same month (July), quoted from the poet Southey's unpublished journal of a tour in Scotland in 1819 evidence of the value of the open-air

¹ *Practitioner*, London, 1870, iv. 257.

² *Lancet*, 1870, i. 905.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1870, ii. 31.

treatment of disease. This led Allbutt to write a 1870 letter¹ recalling the benefit of free ventilation on the course of fevers as shown by his plan of treatment during the epidemic in 1865–66 in Leeds (*vide* p. 32). He mentioned that after he had ceased to be in sole charge of the Leeds House of Recovery, “routine and prejudice gained the upper hand”, and his plan of open windows was abandoned. In August he attended the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and in the Section of Medicine read a paper² on a form of functional hemiplegia in connection with pregnancy, nearly always of the left side; he had noticed that the temperature was about 1° F. lower on the affected side in these cases, of which he had seen eight in three years. In November a clinical lecture on incontinence of urine,³ originally delivered three years before but repeated with fresh illustrative cases, was published.

As already mentioned (p. 35), it was during this year that Allbutt wrote an exhaustive essay-review⁴ on clinical thermometry, with special reference to Wunderlich’s epoch-making monograph on the subject, and giving a brief account of his own share in the introduction of the clinical thermometer. At this date it was hardly known to general practitioners; writing in 1903 the late Sir Samuel Wilks⁵ recalled having in 1870 requested the Superintendent of Guy’s Hospital to procure a clinical thermometer, which when obtained was nearly a foot long. As a great novelty it was shown at a meeting of the South-eastern Division of the British Medical Association,

¹ *Lancet*, 1870, ii. 167.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1870, ii. 351.

³ *Lancet*, 1870, ii. 733.

⁴ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1870, xlv. 429; xlv. 144.

⁵ Wilks, S., *Biographical Reminiscences*, p. 143, 1903.

1870 and excited much curiosity and interest among the members present, and from one or two ridicule.

Allbutt, who had been an alpine climber since his Cambridge days, was this year elected a member of the Alpine Club; he took the keenest interest in climbing to the end of his long life, contributing to the *Alpine Journal*, especially appreciations of the climbing companions and guides, such as Thomas Stuart Kennedy, C. E. Mathews, T. G. Bonney, Melchior Anderogg, and François Devouassoud. In his obituary notice of T. S. Kennedy, with whom he had climbed for many seasons dating from the early 'sixties, he recorded an exciting adventure: "When on an easy grass slope we were properly unroped, while looking at something which interested him he tripped, fell, and began to roll; in two more seconds he would have been dashed to pieces on the Viesch Glacier, some thousand feet below us. Old Christian Almer, who was a little ahead, turned at the sound, and, throwing himself at full length on the grass, seized Kennedy by the collar, and the honest frieze (Grindelwald-spun, if I remember aright) held firm. He silently shook hands with Almer and turning to me said: 'Please never let my wife know of this'." After this warning Allbutt, when walking in the Lakes, carried a stout stick forty-one inches long, with a prong at the handle; he said, "It has helped me up many a steep slope". About alpine climbing he remarked later in years, "When I felt it was possible to slip, I felt it was time to give up".

Allbutt was one of the twenty contributors, among whom were Sir Martin Conway, C. T. Dent, D. W. Freshfield, and T. S. Kennedy, to *The Pioneers of the Alps* (2nd edition, 1888), edited by C. D.

Cunningham and W. de W. Abney, which traced the growth and development of mountaineering from the end of the fourteenth century and provided portraits and sketches of the lives of the great alpine guides. In his article on the training of mountaineers he insisted on careful preparation on the part of alpine climbers, but said that with these precautions it was, contrary to general impression, quite suitable for middle-aged men, as it demanded endurance rather than speed; and that with a great deal of medical experience among alpine climbers he had never had to advise a sound man to give up alpine climbing altogether, either on account of age or of any other condition, and gave examples of octogenarian climbers. With regard to women he took a different view, as he had often seen chronic exhaustion, without any local trouble, result from the attempt to emulate male climbers. As regards diet he believed in light food when climbing, and water and plenty of it, but perhaps the best drink was cold tea; "milk suits me well as meat and drink, and has the advantage of combining both within itself".

In a notice of François Devouassoud, written in 1917, Allbutt recalled his unpleasant experience in bad weather on Mont Blanc when his feet were numbed by frost-bite and he suffered the severe pain of returning circulation, which, though reassuring as to the recovery of the frost-bitten feet, left reminders at every frost. For many years Allbutt climbed in the Alps, he walked almost every year in the Lake District, from his fourteenth year, and was a member of the Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District. He thoroughly believed in a continuous six weeks' holiday every year; and in recommending

1870 Professor T. W. Griffith early in his career to do so, he added, "I once missed doing so, and I have always regretted it". When in London he was a member of the "Sunday Tramps", led by Leslie Stephen (1832–1904), who was his senior contemporary at Cambridge and attracted him to alpine climbing. He was an active member of the Cyclists' Touring Club, and even in his last year trieyeled about Cambridge, thus, no doubt, maintaining his remarkable vigour and health.

1871

Early in the year he was engaged in a correspondence on medical reform, and in the second and longer of the two letters,¹ which occupied two and a half pages, he "earnestly called upon the [British Medical] Association to consider well before it binds anew the chains of our old bondage". He also contributed an article² on the Bill which the *Lancet* was bringing before Parliament to amend the Medical Act of 1858; this Bill especially urged a radical alteration in the composition of the General Medical Council, namely, that its membership should be reduced to twelve, made up of four representatives of the Crown, four of the existing licensing bodies, and four of the medical profession.

Allbutt showed before the Pathological Society of London³ microscopic sections of the spinal cord from five cases of tetanus at the Leeds Infirmary; in three of these, in which the infected wound was in the foot, he found suppuration extending up the

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1871, i. 155, 181.

² *Lancet*, 1871, i. 178.

³ *Trans. Path. Soc. London*, 1871, xxii. 27.

sheaths of the posterior tibial nerves, and strongly 1871 urged "neurotomy as a remedial process in tetanus. . . . As the central mischief increases rapidly day by day, it is of the first importance that this or any other remedial means should be made use of at the earliest possible opportunity". It was more than twenty years later that Gumprecht¹ suggested that the tetanic poison reached the cord by travelling along the nerves from the point of inoculation. His specimens were submitted to a small committee (J. A. Lockhart Clarke and W. H. Dickinson) for a further report, which Allbutt ventured to criticize, and accordingly the committee men had another say. Much interested in the electrical treatment of disease he published a report² on cases of infantile paralysis treated by this method, and a review³ of seven books on the subject.

The second half of the year was much occupied in various activities; in July he wrote a short letter in connection with a correspondence on infection from the dead,⁴ quoting a case recorded by Virchow of the transmission of typhus, the explanation of which is now of course known to be lice acting as carriers of the *Rickettsia*. In August he attended the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Plymouth, and brought before the Medical Section a paper "On Marasmus as an Occasional Consequence of Enteric Fever".⁵ He also continued his report on cases treated by electricity, dealing in this article with hemiplegia.⁶ From his letter⁷ criticizing the

¹ *Deutsche med. Wchnschr.*, 1894, xx. 546.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1871, i. 642.

³ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1871, xlviii. 38-57.

⁴ *Lancet*, 1871, ii. 145.

⁵ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1871, ii. 547.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1871, ii. 262.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1871, ii. 83.

1871 telcological views of Professor Samuel Haughton (1821-97) of Dublin, the following sentence deserves preservation for its light touches: "What Dr. Haughton says is said so effectively that it seems as if it must be right—facts could not resist the charming of so eloquent an interpreter, and perhaps they follow his piping as less rigid things once followed Amphion".

In October, being President of the Medical School and lecturer on the practice of medicine, he delivered the introductory address at the opening of the medical session of the Leeds Royal School of Medicine.¹ The two questions discussed were: "What is Disease?" and "Can we Relieve it?" A few years before, this subject had been freely ventilated by Dr. C. Handfield Jones' article entitled "What are Diseases?"² followed by letters in the *British Medical Journal* by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Wilks and Dr. (afterwards Sir) William Broadbent. Handfield Jones argued that diseases, which are perturbations of normal functions, vary so much that great care is necessary in treating them generically, and, in fact, seems to have urged the treatment of the patient rather than of the disease. Wilks,³ on the other hand, contended that the disease should be treated, and instanced the abuse of alcoholic stimulation as the outcome of treating the patient. Broadbent,⁴ while agreeing generally with what they both said, tried to reconcile the two views, and Handfield Jones in his reply to Wilks, while again deprecating routine treatment, quoted the old saw *in medio tutissimus ibis*, and agreed that the disease as well as the patient

¹ *Lancet*, 1871, ii. 531-35.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1868, ii. 29, 345.

³ *Ibid.*, 1868, ii. 136.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1868, ii. 346.

should be treated. As he often did in future years, 1871 Allbutt insisted that disease is not "a morbid entity" to be expelled from the body, but a disturbance in the normal harmony of the constituent parts of the body. He deprecated the therapeutic nihilism then prevailing from increased knowledge of the end-results seen in the post-mortem room, and with real foresight pointed out the importance of detecting the first functional deviation from the normal and finding a means of correcting it; for example, the information to be obtained in fever from the use of the clinical thermometer, then in its infancy, and the benefit obtained from the treatment by cold baths, practised by James Currie of Liverpool at the end of the eighteenth century, but then only recently revived in this country by Wilson Fox.¹ In describing the nervous habit or constitution he instanced Mrs. Poyser in George Eliot's *Adam Bede* as an admirable example; two *obiter dicta* may be quoted: "Pathologists have found that, after all, they were physiologists", and "Physicians are made at the bedside". This address, like so many of his, excited much interest and correspondence, and accordingly in December he wrote an article on "The Treatment of Hyperpyrexia by the Withdrawal of Heat",² giving more detailed information about this method and recording cases; he had seen twelve cases of high temperature with delirium in acute rheumatism, two only with recovery; one of these patients treated in 1866 with morphine, the constant use of which appeared to be responsible for recovery, was alive and wrote him a grateful letter of reminiscence in 1900; the other

¹ *On the Treatment of Hyperpyrexia by Means of the External Application of Cold*, 1871.

² *Lancet*, 1871, ii. 880.

1871 patient was treated by hydrotherapy in September 1871.

In 1871 and 1873 he published papers¹ on the effect of exercise on the bodily temperature, containing observations on himself, with a short thermometer of his own invention, when climbing in the Alps in 1870. The object was to determine whether or not the regulating power of the body held good under great variations of muscular exertion. At that time he was not aware that any observations of the kind had been made, but later he found that he had been anticipated by Lortet, who had carried them out during an ascent of Mont Blanc in 1869. Allbutt concluded that the normal effect of prolonged physical exertion was to raise the temperature slightly during the day and to favour the early fall of temperature after the day's work was over.

His epoch-making monograph, *The Use of the Ophthalmoscope in Diseases of the Nervous System and of the Kidneys, and also in certain General Disorders*, appeared in the year of the death of the original inventor—Charles Babbage (1792–1871)—of the ophthalmoscope. The practical application to medicine of this instrument and of Helmholtz's modification had been suggested by Spencer Wells (1818–1897), who in the 'thirties had attended the lectures of William Hey, secundus, and T. Pridgin Teale, senior, at the Leeds Infirmary, and in 1853 started practice in Brook Street as an ophthalmic surgeon before he became the famous ovariologist, and also by J. W. Ogle. But this was largely carried into effect by Hughlings Jackson (1835–1911), a brother

¹ *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1871, xix. 289-90; *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1871, i. 165; *Journ. Anat.*, 1873, vii. 106-19.

Yorkshireman, who had suggested that Allbutt 1871 should work at medical ophthalmology. It was therefore natural that Allbutt should dedicate to Hughlings Jackson this book, which for the first time provided a really wide and comprehensive review of this instrument of precision as a diagnostic guide in clinical medicine. It was obviously the result of work extending over a number of years; in the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* (1868, xli. 126-150) there is an unsigned review of nine contributions on medical ophthalmology, which from its literary style may well have been written by him. It remarks: "If we rightly remember, Dr. John Ogle was the first, or one of the first, to call the attention of the profession in England to the probable results of ophthalmoscopic examination in cases of cerebral disease". With an impartial review of the literature his monograph contained his own observations made at Leeds, the North and East Riding Asylum at Clifton, near York, and especially at the West Riding Lunatic Asylum, Wakefield, where Dr. (afterwards Sir) James Crichton-Browne attracted young men keen on research, such as David Ferrier, Hughlings Jackson, William Turner, Lauder Brunton, and J. Milner Fothergill, to work, write for his *Reports*, and attend the annual meeting there. Allbutt's own observations included primary optic atrophy in general paralysis of the insane and the condition of the optic disc in a large number of cases of meningitis; he noted that the neuritis might subside, and suggested the term "choked disc" instead of von Gracfe's "stauungspapille" for the conditions often seen in intracranial disease. This monograph was at once recognized as full of sound reasoning based

1871 on honest observation, never carrying conclusions further than the available data justified, and assembling all the known facts about the subject. The long and highly appreciative review of the book in the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* (1872, xlix. 429-47), though unsigned, may well have been by the editor, John W. Ogle, his old teacher. This important piece of scientific and literary work is exceptional in that, contrary to his usual practice, Allbutt never brought out a second edition or returned at length to the subject. In 1879 Sir William Gowers' book *Medical Ophthalmology* appeared, and passed into a fourth edition in 1904, when the late Marcus Gunn was associated as author.

1872

On January 2 he showed at the old Pathological Society of London microscopic sections of syphilitic disease of the arteries of the brain,¹ to which reference has already been made (*vide* p. 40), and also specimens illustrating the histology of the nervous changes in hydrophobia from two cases fatal in the Infirmary at Leeds in 1871. This disease, about which so much was written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has now as the result of Pasteur's preventive treatment become rare on the Continent, and since the Muzzling Order introduced in 1897 by the late Lord Long of Wraxall, has become practically unknown in this country. In addition to a report on the treatment of sick headache,² he wrote two letters³ discussing in an independent

¹ *Trans. Path. Soc. London*, 1872, xxiii. 16, 19.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1872, i. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, 1872, i. 109, 140.

spirit the views expressed in an editorial in the *British Medical Journal* on the subject of the elimination of poisons; thus the second letter begins: "With a dexterity which I admire, but cannot hope to rival, your contributor fastens upon me a false quotation when from the context it was plain that no quotation was made or intended". He also contributed a paper on "The Causation and Symptoms of the Choked Disc in Intracranial Disease".¹ In August a paper of his on thoracentesis² appeared, and later in the year he published in the same journal a letter received from H. J. Bowditch of Boston, Mass., confirming the value of early exploration of the chest, and discussing the proper size of the trocars for this purpose. He also recorded a case of localized inflammation of the brain and the meninges, as shown by an examination after death, which had caused aphasia.³

As George Eliot's *Middlemarch* came out in 1872, this may be the best place to consider the question how far Allbutt was the prototype of Tertius Lydgate. George Eliot certainly knew Allbutt before she started to write *Middlemarch* in August 1869; during her tour in Yorkshire in 1868 she wrote on September 25 to Madame Bodiehon: "We went from Leeds to Bolton; our visit to Yorkshire was extremely agreeable; our host, Dr. Allbutt, is a good, clever, and graceful man, enough to enable one to be cheerful under the horrible smoke of ugly Leeds". In another letter, dated September 20, 1868, to Mrs. Richard Congreve, she says: "We went to Leeds on Monday

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1872, i. 443.

² *Practitioner*, London, 1872, ix. 75, 320.

³ *Lancet*, 1872, ii. 146.

1872 and stayed two days with Dr. Allbutt. Dr. Bridges dined with us one day, and we had a great deal of delightful chat" (*Life of George Eliot*, by J. W. Cross, 1884, vol. iii. p. 58). J. H. Bridges (1832–1906), formerly Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, at that time physician to the Bradford Infirmary, was from 1870 to 1898 a medical inspector to the Local Government Board (the parent of the Ministry of Health); when a senior scholar of Wadham he had come under the influence of Richard Congreve (1818–99), one of the Fellows, and as a result became, with Frederic Harrison and E. S. Beesly, a foremost leader of the positivist movement in England. The circumstances and character of Tertius Lydgate certainly show certain resemblances to those of Allbutt. Thus Lydgate was suddenly attracted to medicine by reading a book—not Auguste Comte's *Philosophie positive*, it is true—but an article on the anatomy of the valves of the heart in an encyclopaedia; he studied in Paris; settled down in a provincial town to keep away from the range of London intrigues, jealousies, and social truckling; was superintendent of a fever hospital where he treated fever on "a new plan" with success; resolved to resist the irrational severance between medical and surgical knowledge; and showed mental independence with an aristocratic bearing. On the other hand, there are, but not very essential, differences; Lydgate was an orphan, and the son of a military man; he underwent a medical apprenticeship and was educated at Edinburgh; he started in Middlemarch in the year 1829; he resigned his post at the Infirmary in early days and left Middlemarch to practise with popular success in London and a continental spa according to the seasons; wrote a book

on gout, "a disease which had a good deal of wealth 1872 on its side"; died of diphtheria at the age of fifty, his hair having never become white; and always regarded himself as a failure because he had not accomplished what he once intended to do. The mentality and scientific ambitions of Lydgate in 1830 were probably an accurate representation of Allbutt's some forty years later, but the details of Lydgate's parentage and other aspects of his life were not those of Allbutt. It would appear that, though some of the facts about Lydgate were taken from Allbutt, care was purposely taken to prevent too obvious a portrait. Sir William Osler,¹ who said that nothing in the careers of Lydgate and Allbutt was in common save the training and high ideals, was told by Dr. H. C. Bastian that George Eliot, during a discussion about *Middlemarch*, which had then just been published, admitted that "Dr. Allbutt's early career at Leeds had given her suggestions". It should be mentioned that in a letter, dated December 5, 1872, to Alexander Main, quoted in C. S. Olcott's *George Eliot: Scenes and People in her Novels*, p. 164, George Henry Lewes wrote: "It seemed to him [Sir James Paget] that there must have been a biographical foundation for Lydgate's career. When I told him that she had never even known a surgeon intimately, and had no acquaintance in any degree resembling Lydgate, he said that it was like assisting at the creation—a universe formed out of nothing." George Eliot, however, as shown above, certainly knew Allbutt. When this subject was raised in his presence Allbutt preserved a somewhat sphinx-like expression, but never

¹ *Vide* H. Cushing's *Life of Sir William Osler*, 1925, vol. i. p. 463, footnote; also *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, p. 430, 1929.

1872 denied it; on one occasion he gave, what for him was very unusual, a rather self-conscious laugh and said, "Oh, I think all of us were Lydgate". It is not uninteresting to add that the late Oscar Browning, whose creation late in life as an O.B.E. was described in "The Times" as "a piece of heavy bureaucratic humour", confessed in his *Memoirs of Sixty Years at Eton, Cambridge, and Elsewhere* (p. 193) that George Eliot often advised him to marry; this general injunction, however, he disobeyed, as he felt "that Lydgate's experience of marriage had not been so successful as to induce the man from whom in some measure she had drawn the character of Lydgate, to try the same experiment".

1873

He published another article on "Overwork and Strain of the Heart and Aorta",¹ insisting on the effect of long-continued strain in inducing aortic endarteritis and aortic regurgitation, and also dwelt on over-exertion as a cause of acute dilatation of the right ventricle, which he mapped out in his own person by percussion when brought to a standstill while climbing the Aeggischorn. When read before the Clinical Society of London this paper excited a good deal of discussion. Roy and Adami's² later experimental results lent support to Allbutt's thesis; thus in their 1888 paper: "Of acute overstrain of the heart from intense muscular exertion, one of us (R.) has on one occasion had experience: when, during convalescence from typhoid, he found himself called

¹ *Trans. Clin. Soc. London*, 1873, vi. 101; *Lancet*, 1873, i. 377.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1888, ii. 1321.

upon as a medical man to make a fatiguing and rapid 1873 journey with a relieving party over the Mer-de-Glace to the 'Jardin' to attend to a Chamonix guide who had been severely injured by an alpine accident. The sensations felt are well described by Clifford Allbutt, with whose observations on overstrain of the heart our own results fully coincide. The feeling of want of breath and fulness in the region of the heart, as well as the sense of extreme muscular limpness, are well-marked subjective phenomena. With regard to the objective phenomena, it did not occur to the one of us personally involved in this matter to percuss out his heart, as was done by the more intelligent Clifford Allbutt, who found the area of dulness increased." The two following papers also show that his alpine holidays sometimes had medical aspects. In a published note on "Diet in Health and Disease" he gave a useful piece of advice, evidently derived from his own experience, to climbers: "A man will walk fourteen or twenty hours in Switzerland on scrappy food, and then dine or sup heavily, at 8 o'clock or later in the evening, taking perhaps a lot of light wine also. Let him, instead, take a large basin of really good bouillon, and then tumble into bed. The broth will gently flow into his veins at no further cost to his own forces, and he will be astonished to find that he awakes betimes in the morning fresh, hungry, and 'game' for another day."¹ In connection with a question raised about poisoning by homoeopathic camphor he related how, while staying at the Bel Alp, his guide Johann Jaun, when out on a climb, was taken ill, and the only available remedy being this drug, borrowed from another climber, it

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1873, i. 586.

1873 was administered by him with a perhaps somewhat disdainful hand, and brought on decidedly bad effects—giddiness and nausea.¹ It so happened that about this time he recorded a series of ten cases of simple giddiness in a communication² to the Yorkshire Branch of the British Medical Association. Electrotherapy was a subject in which he took much interest at this time, and this was abundantly shown in a long review³ of Duchenne's (of Bordcaux) *De l'électrisation localisée*.

His work at the West Riding Asylum continued to provide him with useful material, and from a paper on the obscure neuroses of syphilis,⁴ the following extract may be quoted :

These cases of syphilis recurring in the after lives of responsible and distinguished persons are peculiarly distressing, and at times it is hard to inquire properly into the original cause. I have in my note-book the details of another case also in the person of a clergyman distinguished both for his abilities and for the charm of his bearing and high character; to him, of course, the knowledge of his affection is peculiarly saddening. I need not describe the case, as in its main features it closely resembles that of others in the appearance of mental depression, sleeplessness, and neuralgia cured by iodides and mercury.

In 1873 the Allbutts adopted Margaret, the daughter of Thomas England, the eldest brother of Lady Allbutt. She lived with them until her marriage in 1899 to the Rev. H. S. Cronin.

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1873, ii. 673.

² *Ibid.*, 1873, ii. 86.

³ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1873, lii. 319-39.

⁴ *West Riding Lunatic Asylum Med. Rep.*, 1873, iii. 273.

1874

In 1874 the late Dr. Charles Chadwick, who had 1874 enjoyed the bulk of the consultation work, retired from practice, and Allbutt not only took his consulting rooms at Park Chambers, 35 Park Square, but rapidly obtained the premier position as a consulting physician, and until he left Leeds in 1889 had a practice extending from the Trent to the Tees. In the management of his busy consulting practice, arranging train times and connections and communicating with him when already at one so as to fit in another one in the same direction, he had a most valuable assistant and factotum in a man called Moore, who lived with his wife in the house in Park Square where Allbutt had his consulting rooms on the ground floor.

As a consultant he had the advantages not only of a fine intellect and a kind heart, but of a presence and style which marked the great man. His former colleague, Dr. C. M. Chadwick, the son of Dr. Charles Chadwick, wrote: "His 'bedside manner' could never have been surpassed; in consultation he always gave the very greatest satisfaction to everyone concerned; he was always hopeful, even in the most hopeless cases, and always left the patient with the feeling that not only was there considerable cause for hopefulness, but that the patient was the one person, and the one case, in which Dr. Allbutt was specially interested. It is needless to say that all the most desirable of the general practitioners were both happy and proud to meet him in consultation. He never let a man down." Dr. Frank Mayo, a resident in the Leeds Infirmary and afterwards in practice in the neighbourhood, writes: "He inspired the confidence

1874 of the patient and was very careful to transfer that confidence to the practitioner he was meeting". Many other men now well established in practice or retiring on success have grateful memories of his kindness and practical help when they were starting on their professional life. Ever on the look out for new knowledge, he collected from practitioners many personal observations, especially on prognosis and treatment, which would otherwise have been lost, and was always most ready to share his collections with others. From his long and varied experience of the character and difficulties of general practitioners in the industrial towns and isolated districts of Yorkshire, he became their warm friend, and thus was well qualified to become the President of the British Medical Association (1915-20). Serupulously punctual in appointments, he would sometimes mention the experience during his early days at Leeds of going to a consultation and finding the late Mr. G. C. Wheelhouse, his colleague, standing on the doorstep, watch in hand, and his remark: "You are two minutes late; this is not the way to succeed in life".

During this year he contributed two thoughtful papers to the *Practitioner*,¹ the first in January, on the antipyretic action of quinine, and the other in November, on the influence of the nervous system and of arsenic on the nutrition of the skin, with eighteen illustrative cases. In 1873 Adolf Kussmaul (1822-1902), whose portrait² in his later years somewhat resembled that of Allbutt, described indurative or callous mediastino-pericarditis with the curious phenomenon of disappearance of the pulse at the

¹ *Practitioner*, London, 1874, xii. 29; xiii. 319.

² Vide *Annals of Med. History*, N.Y., 1926, viii. 101.

wrist during inspiration; Allbutt, whose wide reading 1874 always kept him thoroughly up to date, recorded a case of "Mediastinal Sarcoma simulating Callous Mediastino-pericarditis"¹ in 1874, and thus directed attention in this country to the condition. In November he also wrote on "The Modes of Death in the Earlier Stages of Scarlet Fever",² based on lectures given in his winter course on the practice of medicine.

1875

Under the title of "A Clinical Thermopile"³ he published an account of a thermo-electric apparatus, made by Messrs. Harvey & Reynolds, of Leeds, which he had used since 1868 for recording surface temperatures. In his last years he often spoke to Dr. P. C. Varrier-Jones⁴ of his share in the invention of a self-registering continuous recording thermometer; but though he searched among his papers he was unable to find his description of it. In August he attended the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Edinburgh, under the presidency of Sir Robert Christison, and read a paper on "Auscultation of the Oesophagus",⁵ confirming some of the observations made in 1867 by Hamburger, almost the only authority on this subject, and giving an account of the normal sounds produced on swallowing and of their modification in disease.

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1874, ii. 300.

² *Lancet*, 1874, ii. 652.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1875, i. 309.

⁴ *The Significance of Temperature Variations in Tuberculous Disease*, p. 10. Cambridge, 1926.

⁵ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1875, ii. 420.

1876

1876 Although much occupied in consulting practice he did not relax his activities in other directions; in January he contributed some "Notes on Dr. Broadbent's Lectures on the Pulse",¹ which had been delivered in the previous year at St. Mary's Hospital, and dealing with its diagnostic, prognostic, and therapeutic indications.² Allbutt wrote that six years previously, when rather disheartened with his experience of the sphygmograph as an instrument of clinical research, he had been encouraged by the late Dr. F. E. Anstie's remark that its great value was not so much in the detection of cardiac lesions as in facilitating a better appreciation of constitutional states. Broadbent's lectures therefore appealed to him as valuable on this account; but he thought that sufficient stress had not been laid on the importance of worry in the production of high blood-pressure, a point in which he was at this time much interested. In April, an essay-review, after the manner of the *Quarterly Review*, appeared by him and was really an essay on diabetes,³ though based on five books dealing with that subject.

At the annual meeting of the British Medical Association he read a paper on "Mental Anxiety as a Cause of Granular Kidneys",⁴ which was important not only from the point of view of the subject but also because it showed that he was working at the early stages and the causes of disease which Sir James Mackenzie, some forty or more years later,

¹ *Lancet*, 1876, i. 86.

² Broadbent, W. H., *ibid.*, 1875, ii. 441, 549, 583, 901.

³ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1876, lviii. 353-69.

⁴ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1877, i. 157.

insisted on so strongly and investigated at the St. Andrews Institute for Clinical Research, now the St. Andrews (James Mackenzie) Institute for Clinical Research. Allbutt began his article by saying that for the purpose of tracing the causes of disease he had taken "more or less careful notes" of almost all the patients he had seen for some years, and thus had the records of nearly a thousand cases from which he drew the following conclusions: Hardly any case can be regarded as trivial, for a disorder, however slight it may be, forms an important link in the life history of the individual; skin diseases were important, and to them were allied conditions which might be called eczema of the bronchial mucosa and psoriasis of the tongue and colon; the hereditary and familial nature of rheumatic fever and gout in combination. As regards the subject of his paper he found that among thirty-five cases of granular kidney twenty-four had a well-marked history of prolonged mental anxiety, which he therefore concluded was one of the chief causes, if not the chief cause, of that disease. This early clinical observation is of much interest in connection with his later views on high blood-pressure as a cause of arteriosclerosis, and of the association of arteriosclerosis and granular kidneys. In his Harveian Oration for 1912, entitled "The Passing of Morbid Anatomy", the late Sir James Goodhart, who thought and wrote much in the same attractive style as Allbutt, said: "Long years ago our trusty Fellow, Sir Clifford Allbutt, now Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge, wrote a short paper on 'Mental Anxiety as a cause of Granular Kidney'. It was to me one of those illuminating suggestions that have added an interest to my

1876 life. I believe it to be as abundantly true as I do that similar malign influences, by dislocation in some way, as I suppose, of our correlated impulses, make for cancer. You must have often seen the nervous, anxious, worried man, with the phenomena of high tension, and have felt able to predict, *in posse*, the future disease of this organ or of that. Such conditions, real diseases though they may be, are but functional, but what a wealth of pathology is wrapped up in them!"

It may be mentioned that among the cases on which the late Sir James Paget based his classical paper before the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society on November 14, 1876, entitled "On a Form of Chronic Inflammation of the Bones (Osteitis deformans)", was one which Allbutt had observed and sent to Paget. This is one of the diseases with the eponym of "Paget's disease".

1877

In the late 'seventies he advocated the treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis at Davos,¹ years before the open-air treatment became popular, though it had been practised in 1840 by George Bodington of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire, who was regarded as a crank, and fifteen years later was again carried out by Henry MacCormack (1800–1886) of Belfast. Indeed, it was not until it had been employed abroad by Brehmer (1859) of Göbersdorf in Silesia, by E. L. Trudeau (1884) in the Adirondacks, and others, that about 1895 it attracted much

¹ "Davos as a Health Resort," *Lancet*, 1877, ii. 575; 1878, i. 824; 1879, ii. 76, 118.

attention in this country. On his first visit to Davos 1877 in 1877 Allbutt arrived there with John Addington Symonds (1840–93), who, being seriously ill with pulmonary tuberculosis, had been advised by Sir William Jenner to go to Egypt, but hearing of the alpine treatment, decided to try Davos first; he then placed himself under Allbutt's advice as to the future, with the result that he practically made it his home with most beneficial results for both his health and his literary activities. Throughout his life Allbutt retained a keen interest in tuberculosis, as is shown by his opening a discussion on "The Prevention and Remedial Treatment of Tuberculosis" at the meeting of the British Medical Association at Portsmouth in 1899,¹ by his activities as a member of the consulting staff of King Edward VII. Sanatorium at Midhurst from its opening in 1906 until his death; at Papworth (1918–25), and by addresses elsewhere, for example, on the sun treatment at Sir William Treloar's Cripples' Hospital and College at Alton in Hampshire in 1923 on the conservative surgery and sun treatment there.

Early in the second half of the year he read a paper before the Yorkshire Branch of the British Medical Association on uraemic asthma,² a condition not then widely recognized; he appears to have been then, when to give morphine in any form of renal disease was regarded as a grave mistake and most reprehensible, secretly drawn to do so, for he wrote: "Perhaps we ought, in extreme cases, to inject a little morphine under the skin, but this I dare not

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1899, ii. 1149.

² *Ibid.*, 1877, ii. 407.

1877 recommend". As a matter of history the use of morphine for the relief of uraemic manifestations had been advocated in 1873 by A. L. Loomis¹ in America; but so strongly was the teaching of authority, and perhaps especially that of the late Sir William Jenner, a forcible personality, opposed to it, that it was not until the late Sir Stephen Mackenzie² in 1889 showed the benefit and harmlessness of treating uraemic asthma by hypodermic injection of morphine that this mistaken doctrine began to lose ground. On August 9 at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Manchester, Allbutt read a paper³ in the Section of Medicine, of which the late Sir William Jenner was President, on the treatment of pleuritic effusion, a subject in which he had taken an active interest, preaching Trousseau's plan of tapping before it became a general practice, since he set up in Leeds. A little later in the year he recorded a case of hyperpyrexia in rheumatic fever with recovery after hydrotherapy⁴ extemporized in a large house far in the wilds of Yorkshire, thus repeating his successful experience recorded in 1871 (*vide* p. 55). About the same time he loyally wrote a brief letter⁵ supporting Charcot's claims with regard to metalloscopy and metallotherapy, which were then exciting a good deal of critical incredulity.

In October he contributed an analytical and critical review containing statements of his own views on the pathology of granular kidney. This appeared in the last number of the *British and Foreign*

¹ *Med. Rec.*, New York, 1873, vii. 361.

² *Lancet*, 1889, ii. 208, 263.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1877, ii. 726.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1877, ii. 662.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1877, ii. 652.

Medico-Chirurgical Review,¹ and was an essay-review 1877 written round three important publications on the subject, George Johnson's Lumleian Lectures at the Royal College of Physicians of London, W. H. Dickinson's book on renal disease, and the articles on diseases of the kidney in the translation of von Ziemssen's *Encyclopaedia of Medicine*, all published during the year.

1878

To the first number of *Brain*² in April he contributed by invitation, and, while regretting that from force of circumstances he was unable to bring forward any laboratory observations, wrote a vigorous condemnation of the evils of "brain-forcing" in schools, a subject on which he had long wished to speak out. "Almost daily", he said, "I am in contention with parents and guardians, schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, clergymen and professors, youths and maidens, boys and girls, concerning the right way of building up the young brain, of ripening the adult brain, and of preserving the brain in age." So often was mental development latent during the period of physical growth that he had much sympathy with dunces, and was a firm believer in a vigorous physique. Precocity was gained at the cost of feeble maturity and early decay, and "the mischief done daily by calling upon the unripe brain for productive work, for original composition, for competitive examinations, for teaching and even for preaching, was calamitous". Schoolmasters, as a class, were utterly unconscious of the existence of

¹ *Brit. and For. Med.-Chir. Rev.*, 1877, lx. 279-98.

² *Brain*, London, 1878-79, i. 60-78.

1878 the science of physiology, and he declared that "before women can hope to do hard and high work, sense must expel sensibility, and schoolgirls must cease to walk out in a row, to veil their faces, wear stays, and to eat delicately".

In 1878, now well known as "Allbutt of Leeds", he took the membership of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and, being over forty years of age, was, according to the existing by-law (now altered), excused part of the examination. Being markedly independent, he had probably not thought it necessary to become a member of the College; but about this time the College, under the presidency of Sir James Risdon Bennett (1809-91), made considerable efforts to bring into its fold all university graduates practising medicine in the provinces, and it may well be that Allbutt was specially approached by some of his London friends. It is historically interesting that his junior, William Osler (1849-1919), then physician to the Montreal General Hospital, was admitted to the membership at the same Comitia of the College on July 26; for there thus began a certain parallelism in the careers of these two great humanists, scholar-physicians, and future Regius Professors, who were appointed at almost the same age, fifty-six and fifty-five, at Cambridge and Oxford. After the interval of five years, four being the possible minimum, they were elected Fellows of the College in 1883, the Goulstonian Lectureship, which falls to one of the four junior Fellows, being allotted to Allbutt. It is a curious coincidence that they both were Goulstonian lecturers, for by an unprecedented action the College Comitia refused to accept the list of Fellows nominated by the Council, and there was

therefore no election of Fellows in 1884. The reason 1878
for this rebellion was that the name of a then rising
physician, Samuel West (1848–1920), was not in-
cluded among those recommended by the Council;
the explanation of his exclusion was thought, and
almost certainly correctly, to have been his position
on the staff of the Royal Free Hospital, Gray's Inn
Road, where pupils of the London School of Medicine
for Women, established in 1874, did their clinical
work. The President of the College, Sir William
Jenner (1815–98), a dominating personality, was
strongly opposed to women doctors, and indeed had
openly expressed his feeling by saying that he would
rather see his daughter dead than a medical woman.
West's friends, led by the late James Andrew (1829–
1897), then senior physician at St. Bartholomew's
Hospital, felt that this was not fair dealing and ac-
cordingly refused to accept the list proposed by the
Council. West was elected a Fellow of the College in
the following year (1885), and was afterwards phy-
sician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Osler, who
meanwhile (1884) had become Professor of Clinical
Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadel-
phia, being still the junior Fellow, followed Allbutt as
the Goulstonian Lecturer for 1885, and gave the first
comprehensive account in English of malignant en-
docarditis, a subject also taken forty-one years later
for the Lumleian Lectures (1926) at the College by
Sir Thomas Horder, who in 1909, at the same time
as Osler, was then bringing the subacute or chronic
form of bacterial endocarditis before the notice of the
profession. Further coincidences are that Allbutt
(1900) and Osler (1906) both gave the Harveian
Oration at the Royal College of Physicians of London,

1878 though this is perhaps an almost inevitable honour for such Regius Professors, and edited successful Systems of Medicine. F. H. Garrison,¹ in comparing these two Regius Professors, wrote: "Allbutt was, in fact, the spiritual aristocrat, just as Osler was an essential democrat in professional relations, gregarious and fond enough of people to be sometimes victimized by them".

On taking the chair as President of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, an office he held for three years, Allbutt gave an address on "The Productive Career of Great Men". From a review of the lives of great poets, prose writers, painters, musicians, and scientific men he placed the age of greatest mental achievement somewhere between forty-five and fifty, and came to the conclusion that it was not until the age of forty that any man reaches the full perfection of such powers as he may have by inheritance or acquirement. In connection with Osler's dictum, in his well-known address "The Fixed Period", delivered on February 22, 1905, that the effective work of the world is done by men between twenty-five and forty years of age, Allbutt referred to this subject again in the introductory address at King's College Hospital at the opening of the winter session on October 3, 1905, entitled "Medical Education in London", and subsequently published in book form by Macmillans in 1906.

1879

In August the British Medical Association held its annual meeting at Cork, and Allbutt read two papers in the Section of Medicine, which were pub-

¹ *Science*, New York, 1925, lxi. 331.

lished in the *British Medical Journal* in the following 1879 year, not nearly so satisfactory an arrangement as that now customary, whereby all the reports of the annual meeting are disposed of before the end of the year. His "Remarks on Dilatation of the Stomach and its Treatment"¹ referred specially to washing out the stomach; to this method he was early attracted by Professor Adolf Kussmaul's advocacy in 1869; later, he described his early experience:² "When, on the first appearance of Kussmaul's paper, I begged a lady of atonic fibre, afflicted with gastrectasis due largely to an abuse of aerated waters, to allow me to wash the stomach out, I begged in vain. Even hospital patients resented it at first; but at the present day, men and women of refinement take to lavage as naturally as after a like period of shyness they did to morphia injections. . . . In 1869 the stomach-pump was the means of lavage; soon afterwards a syphon, such as is now used, was made for me by Messrs. Harvey & Reynolds, of Leeds, and the same improvement soon suggested itself to other physicians." This illustrates his readiness to invent and adopt instruments, as was shown by his earlier introduction of the present short form of clinical thermometer in 1867, and expressed in 1881 in his inaugural address to the Midland Medical Society at Birmingham, "On Surgical Aids to Medicine". His other paper at the Cork meeting of the British Medical Association was "On Aortic Regurgitation and the Coronary Circulation",³ and evoked a dissentient letter from Sir Richard Douglas Powell.

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1880, i. 315.

² *System of Medicine*, 1897, iii. 512.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1880, i. 840.

1880

1880 The Allbutts went to Grange for Easter, but on Easter Sunday he hurried back to Leeds to join Dr. J. E. Eddison in consultation on their senior colleague Dr. J. D. Heaton, who was dying from pneumonia. Allbutt wrote: "I must not speak of my regrets in the midst of your own terrible sorrow, but I cannot refrain from saying that Dr. Heaton's loss to me is one which I feel very deeply. As I returned hither feeling very sad, I remembered all his goodness and usefulness as I had seen them for twenty years past; his unswerving rectitude, his generous fairness and welcome to his juniors, his kindly hospitality and thorough sincerity; all of which I can never forget. He was a leader with whom one always felt *safe*, and there is no rarer quality than this. On public grounds his loss is simply irreparable."¹ When in 1893 he delivered for the third time the introductory address at the Leeds School of Medicine, he paid a high tribute to his late colleague's public services, and said that no one who knew him would have hesitated to place his honour or his interests in his hands, even if the personal interests of his judge were concerned in the issue, and that "this means a great thing; it means not only integrity of mind, not only purity of heart, but it means also imagination enough to see how to do as you would be done by".

The scandal of medical men, appearing as expert witnesses, contradicting each other about facts in courts of justice was obviated in Leeds by Allbutt's wise tact in getting the profession together. At a

¹ *Memoir of Dr. John Deakin Heaton*, edited by T. Wemyss Reid, 1883.

meeting it was agreed to combine in refusing to give 1880 evidence in legal cases unless a consultation of both sides was arranged before the case came on in court, even if this were—as often it was—very shortly before, as many witnesses came from a distance. As a result the medical witnesses, though frequently differing in opinions, did not disagree much about the facts. This course was at first met “with bitter opposition from the lawyers—open from the solicitors, covert from the Bar, because it tended to cut down fees, or to show less for them”. . . . “But some of the larger legal firms approved our ruling, and even applauded it; so did gradually the leading counsel. The amendment became apparent to all, and ere long we had all cordially with us. The evidence was immensely improved in both quality and consistency; new facts or new interpretations came out; and doctors of less experience were not sorry to accept a more adequate diagnosis, or partial modifications.”¹ The result of this was shown by Mr. Justice Fitzjames Stephen’s remarks, as quoted in the following annotation in the *British Medical Journal* (1880, ii. 354):

Dr. Clifford Allbutt (Leeds) and Mr. W. A. Statter (Wakefield) gave evidence at Leeds Assizes before Mr. Justice Stephen, relative to the injuries which a young lady received in a railway accident on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. At the close of the case, says the *Yorkshire Post*, his Lordship paid a very high compliment to those gentlemen, and to the leaders of the medical profession in Leeds generally. He said the medical evidence by Mr. Statter and Dr. Clifford Allbutt was a pattern of what such evidence should be. He was in the habit of hearing medical evidence in all parts of the country, and Leeds was the only town where he never heard those unseemly disputes between

¹ Allbutt, C., *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1922, ii. 1245.

1880 the legal and medical professions which occurred at other places. Here there was a certain number of gentlemen, the leaders of the medical profession in the great School of Medicine in Leeds, who had set an admirable example for many years past of truth and candour and straightforwardness in the witness-box, and he was happy to see that their example was being followed by the younger members of the profession. When a man really tried to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in plain and simple language, notwithstanding what consequences might be drawn from it, and whether he was called on the one side or the other, bullying in court and things of that kind ceased at once. Alluding to Mr. C. G. Wheelhouse, surgeon, of Leeds, who had seen the plaintiff on behalf of the company, his lordship said that although there was another eminent gentleman present to give evidence, the defendants had not found it necessary to call him. He hoped that such a state of things might long continue in Leeds, and be imitated in other towns.

The satisfactory state of affairs thus secured may be contrasted with the unfortunate divergence of medical opinion in the trial of Dr. William Palmer of Rugeley, in 1856, in which the Crown had fifteen witnesses of high professional eminence, and the medical witnesses for the defence, among whom was Mr. Thomas Nunneley, afterwards surgeon to Leeds Infirmary (1864-69), made rather a sorry display. Allbutt, in company with two other witnesses in a railway case tried at Leeds, his colleague C. G. Wheelhouse and Dr. Hall of Sheffield, had written letters dated August 17, 1872, to the *Lancet* expostulating with the statement made in its pages that the divergence of medical opinion in this case was a real scandal to the medical profession.

On June 3, 1880, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, being the first physician to the Leeds

Infirmary to win this honour, though on the surgical side William Hey, senior (1736–1819), and T. Pridgin Teale, senior (1801–67) and junior (1831–1923), the latter Allbutt's lifelong friend and a high authority on sanitation, heating, and ventilation, had the enviable letters F.R.S. after their names. Allbutt served on the Council for two periods, 1896–98 and 1914–16, when he was also Vice-President. He took an active part in the work of the Society, serving on the Glass-workers' Cataract Committee and on the Tropical Diseases Committee when it was supervising the long series of investigations into malaria, Malta fever, and sleeping sickness. 1880

1881

In 1881 the Allbutts moved from Lyddon House to Carr Manor, Meanwood, about five miles from Leeds Station, Allbutt of course retaining his consulting rooms in Park Square as before. Carr Manor, which they had been building for some two years, was a fine house with remarkably handsome iron gates, hand-wrought, and of Italian workmanship. It was afterwards occupied again by the outstanding medical man in Yorkshire, Lord Moynihan, elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1926, who described himself as "a physician doomed to the practice of surgery". Miss Marianne Allbutt often stayed for long periods at Carr Manor, and Allbutt spoke of the quartet composed of his wife, his adopted daughter, his sister, and himself as "our family square". The Allbutts did much in the way of genial hospitality generally, and especially in giving hospital residents tennis, tea, and dinner, and the benefit of fresh air and change of

1881 scene. T. S. Kennedy, his companion on many climbing holidays, was a near neighbour, and, as already mentioned, had a remarkably fine organ which was constructed in 1869–70 and was one of the last and chief monuments of Edmund Schulze's incomparable art. It was lodged in a picturesque "tabernacle", a building in chalet style, large enough to seat some eight hundred people; it was planned to have an opening, and that Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810–1876) should do this; "but, no, the master would not come—he could not, or would not, show off before a party of guests. After some negotiation, Wesley made the hard terms that he would come on condition that no one should be present save Schulze, Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy, and myself (Allbutt). So the master came; appearing and disappearing like a wraith, but a wraith under a radiant halo of illumination. He lifted us up in an organ glory which none of us had known before, or since. For, almost as he sat down, Wesley pulled out every stop he could see, and himself lifted up in the glorious noise, for nearly two hours took a long flight of improvisation, mostly in counterpoint and on big combinations. Then he descended to earth, or nearer to it, and strayed delightfully among the several stops. Finally, he turned to Bach, playing the preludes and fugues by the old tradition and giving out the first subject on the great diapasons and rather slowly throughout. It was a wonderful afternoon, for Wesley himself (as he fully admitted) as well as for us."¹ In the last years of his life Allbutt became somewhat deaf and conversation presented some difficulties, but fortunately his power of hearing music remained unimpaired.

¹ Allbutt, C., *The Organ*, London, 1925, v. 82.

For the session of 1880–81 Allbutt was President 1881 of the Leeds and West Riding Medico-Chirurgical Society, in which he had long been and continued to be active. When some twelve years later (Session 1892–93) the Society decided to create an order of Honorary Life Members the first recipients were Allbutt, Crichton-Browne, and Wheelhouse. In August the Sixth International Congress in Medicine, attended by more than three thousand medical men, was held in London under the presidency of Sir James Paget, and Allbutt read a paper in the Medical Section, presided over by Sir William W. Gull, on “The Treatment of Scrofulous Glands” as being then a borderland and neglected subject between medicine and surgery. On October 19 he delivered the inaugural address at the Midland Medical Society at the Grand Hotel, Birmingham, on “Surgical Aids to Medicine”,¹ in which he expressed the conviction, on which he afterwards insisted, especially in his address at St. Louis in 1904, that physic and surgery should not be separated. His remark, “It has been too hastily said that specialism has been the bane of modern medicine”, may seem commonplace now, but at that time it required some courage to stand up against the general disapproval in high places of specialties.

1882

On June 27 he took the oath as a magistrate for the West Riding of Yorkshire. From a record found among his papers it appears that, in connection with a case of typhoid fever seen during this year in consultation, he anticipated, but never published, the

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1882, i. 1.

1882 spread of the disease by a human "carrier". In August 1882 the British Medical Association celebrated its Jubilee, and accordingly met at Worcester, its birth-place. Allbutt was President of the Section of Medicine, and his former teacher and future colleague at Cambridge, Sir George Murray Humphry, presided over the Section of Anatomy and Physiology. They both gave presidential addresses. Allbutt, speaking on "Modern Freedom of Thought and its Influence on the Progress of Medicine"¹, referred to the importance of comparative pathology, thus following on similar lines the argument in Sir James Paget's address, as President of the Section of Pathology at the Cambridge Meeting of the British Medical Association in 1880, on "Elemental Pathology",² which dealt with the diseases of plants.

1883

As already mentioned (*vide* p. 74), he was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London in April of this year at the same time as Osler and Julius Dreschfeld of Manchester. As one of the four junior Fellows he was subsequently appointed Goulstonian Lecturer for the following year, and though extremely busy in consulting practice his spare time must have been much occupied in the preparation of the three lectures always given under this Trust. The honorarium, then £10, has recently been rightly increased by a grant from the Sadler Trust to twenty-five guineas. In July he recorded a case described as lying upon the confines both of migraine and

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1882, ii. 261.

² *Ibid.*, 1880, ii. 611, 649.

epilepsy, with attacks in which consciousness, the 1883
senses, speech, and writing were impaired.¹ In his
comments on the case he refreshingly brought in an
illustration of his experience as a climber: "Speech
being the highest psychomotor function would thus
first feel the failure of general brain power, and dex-
terity would be the next in order to suffer. For in-
stance, an English alpine climber towards the end
of an arduous excursion will find the language he
speaks worst to vanish from him. If this be German,
he may still retain some conversational power in
French; but finally this will soon also leave him, and
he will be reduced to his mother tongue. Even this
fled from Professor Tyndall on one occasion when,
after a grievous climb, he found on entering the
Grimsel that he was incapable of articulate speech."

Being President of the Medical School for the
second time, he again delivered the Introductory
Address at the beginning of the winter session, the
previous occasion being in 1871 (*vide* p. 54). Taking
as his title "Medical Study and Practice",² he dealt
eloquently and faithfully with the virtues and fail-
ings of the profession, dwelling on some points of
medical ethics and giving hints how to avoid the
misunderstandings that may arise between medical
practitioners; thus, he advised those who felt ag-
grieved at the actions of their colleagues to avoid "the
wretched habit of writing letters" in preference to a
heart-to-heart talk, and deprecated the use of the un-
fortunate phrase "medical etiquette", which leads the
public to suppose that the profession has peculiar
rules which no ordinary man can understand. The

¹ *Brain*, London, 1883-84, vi. 246.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1883, ii. 661.

1883 matter, manner, and broad-minded charity and wisdom of this address recall those—"Aequanimitas" (1889) and "Unity, Peace, and Concord" (1905)—subsequently given by his future colleague, the late Sir William Osler. The Social Science Congress met at Huddersfield early in October, and at a combined meeting of the Educational and Health Sections on October 4 there was a discussion on the important question, "Is the modern System of Education exerting any deleterious influence upon the Health of the Country?" To this Allbutt contributed a paper entitled "The Influence of Modern Education", thus recalling his paper on "Brain Faring" earlier in the year. The Board School system he regarded as fairly satisfactory, and the accusation of overwork levelled against the elementary schools as exaggerated, but "the great blot on the system was the pupil teacher, who should be utterly abolished".

During this year a number of the clinical cases under his care in the Leeds Infirmary—of sanguineous abdominal cyst, of acute pericarditis with effusion and recovery after paracentesis, and of chorea—were published in the *Lancet* by his house-physician, J. F. W. Silk, afterwards a well-known anaesthetist in London.

1884

Allbutt's Goulstonian Lectures before the Royal College of Physicians of London in March 1884, originally entitled "Chapters on Visceral Neuroses", were published in book form, *Visceral Neuroses: Neuralgia of the Stomach and Allied Disorders*, by Messrs. J. & A. Churchill, and served a very useful purpose in calling a halt to the vagaries of the gynae-

eologists, then attaching exaggerated importance to 1884
uterine displacements. These lectures, embodying much experience of neurotic patients with wide reading and a broad view of medical practice, created a sensation, and indeed, as Sir James Goodhart told Sir Clifford, stimulated him to give his successful Harveian Lectures on "Common Neuroses" (1891). Allbutt, wielding a rod of ridicule, satirized the erring gynaecologists, the plight of whose patient he described as follows: "She is entangled in the net of the gynaecologist, who finds her uterus, like her nose, a little on one side, or again like that organ is running a little, or it is as flabby as her biceps, so that the unhappy viscus is impaled on a stem, or perched on a prop, or is painted with carbolic acid every week in the year except during the long vacation when the gynaecologist is grouse shooting, or salmon catching, or leading the fashion in the Upper Engadine". He graphically pictured such a patient's mind "thus fastened to a more or less nasty mystery, it becomes newly apprehensive and physically introspective and the morbid chains are riveted more strongly than ever. Arraign the uterus and you fix in the woman the arrow of hypochondria, it may be for ever." It would have been somewhat surprising had the gynaecologists meekly sat down under this chastisement and said nothing in reply; at the Cardiff meeting of the British Medical Association in the following year the Section of Obstetrical Medicine arranged a discussion on "The Local and Constitutional Treatment of Uterine Disease", to be opened by its President, the late W. S. Playfair (1835-1903), Professor of Obstetrics at King's College, London, who was to lead the counter-attack. Allbutt was given notice

1884 of this, and, as he found it impossible to attend the meeting, Playfair sent him the opening address. Allbutt¹ naturally wrote a reply, which was duly read at the meeting; he pointed out that, while his strictures on the practice of certain gynaecologists had been duly discussed, no notice was taken of the praise he had expressed for the services rendered by gynaecology. He gracefully took leave of "a controversy which has had, at least, this great result—that it produced so invaluable an *apologia* from Dr. Playfair". Ten years later, it may be noted, Playfair and Allbutt edited the *System of Gynaecology* (1896).

In 1884 Allbutt, Claudius Galen Wheelhouse, and T. Pridgin Teale, junior, had completed twenty years on the full staff of the Infirmary. At the time of their appointment in 1864 there was not any fixed term of years' service, but in the interval a new law limiting the tenure of office to twenty years on the full staff or on attaining the age of sixty years, whichever event came first, had been passed in the face of not unnatural opposition by those already on the staff; it may be mentioned that when such a change has been enacted elsewhere it has, at any rate as a rule, not been retrospective. In April 1884, therefore, these three ceased to hold office and became members of the consulting staff, but remained "members of the Infirmary Faculty", with the right to the use of six beds and to deliver six lectures to the students annually, privileges which did not cease even if the member left Leeds or its neighbourhood. The termination of a physician's or a surgeon's time at a big hospital is usually a severe wrench, as it suddenly removes an occupation of great opportunities and activity, and

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1885, ii. 589.

further, by being a kind of hint to the world at large 1884
of final retirement from all medical work, cuts into his practice; this is not an immediate effect, but becomes obvious in a very few years. In Allbutt's case, though at the comparatively early age of forty-seven he felt the break with the habits of twenty years, it did not make such a great difference, for his stay in Leeds was only prolonged for five years, and his practice was now so widespread and extensive that there must have been considerable physical relief. For with an enormous consulting practice, the long distances he had to go, at a time long before motors were dreamt of, he often was compelled to spend the night away from home. In the address to the York Medical Society in October 1892, shortly after he had settled at Cambridge, he described his feelings of isolation when he ceased to be physician to the Infirmary, and expressed his disapproval of the rule that made it necessary.

Dr. A. G. Barrs, who became resident medical officer in 1879, and afterwards physician, to the Leeds Infirmary, writes: "He was the most attractive clinical teacher I have ever known, and it is not too much to say that I learnt more from him than from any other of my teachers. He visited the wards every Thursday morning from ten to twelve o'clock, and the whole time was occupied by what I may call a series of exquisite thumb-nail clinical lectures on the cases put before him." Towards the end of the year he published a clinical lecture on scrofulous glands in the neck,¹ a subject he had brought before the International Congress of Medicine in 1881, and no doubt was now considering again, for a few months later,

¹ *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1884, ii. 805.

1884 with his colleague T. Pridgin Teale, he brought out a short monograph on this subject (1885).

1885

Early in the year he published a clinical lecture on migraine,¹ a subject on which he had already written twice, and had an inherited interest in, for his father suffered from it in a typical form, and he himself had attacks of teichopsia and hemiopia, though he never had a headache or vomited except at sea.

In collaboration with his lifelong friend and colleague T. Pridgin Teale he published a small work on *Scrofulous Neck and on the Surgery of Scrofulous Glands* (8vo, London), setting forth the advantages of the now universally accepted operative treatment of tuberculous glands in the neck. This represented their more mature experience since Allbutt's paper on the same subject before the International Congress of Medicine in London in 1881, and contained comments on the artificial boundaries between medicine and surgery, which were more fully set out in Allbutt's address at St. Louis in 1894. In July Allbutt drew attention to the characters of the delirium in chronic heart disease, namely, that it was a "delirium of place",² the patient imagining that he was in some house other than his own; a further and important prognostic feature of this cardiac delirium was that the patient never recovered. Though mentioned by psychiatrists, for example, by Clouston under the title of "cyanotic delirium", this observation attracted little general attention; in 1924 R. Massini re-

¹ *Med. Times and Gaz.*, London, 1885, i. 203.

² *Provinc. Med. Journ.*, 1885, iv. 243.

described it as "travelling delirium", and there was 1885 some correspondence on the subject in the medical press, in the course of which Professor G. M. Robertson¹ of Edinburgh pointed out that the character described as travelling was common to all forms of true delirium. In August Allbutt wrote a letter to the *British Medical Journal* on "The Relations of the Medical Profession to Public Morality"², praising a leading article in the previous week's issue on sexual ignorance. He sternly condemned the conduct of medical men of eminence who countenanced and even recommended irregular sexual indulgence to young men under the erroneous doctrine that it was necessary for their health. He said: "The secret influence of medical men in raising the tone of society, and especially of men, on the point of sexual honour, is enormous and incalculable", and expressed the hope that "our vigilance may henceforth prove equal to our opportunities of working for purity, and of teaching the higher laws of the nature of man".

1886

This year was exceptional in presenting a complete interlude in Allbutt's otherwise consistent literary output, and no doubt this was explained by the heavy calls on his time and of an exceptionally busy consulting practice.

1887

He was faithful to the Leeds and West Riding Medico-Chirurgical Society, of which he had been

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1924, ii. 34, 161.

² *Ibid.*, 1885, ii. 365.

1887 President during the session of 1880–81; thus, at one meeting¹ he read notes of cases, such as seven or eight repeated attacks of coma with slight paralysis of one side with recovery, ascribed to syphilis, and at another made a communication with the interesting title “The last Days of a Case of Graves’ Disease”, describing dropsy and heart failure two years after the thyroid symptoms had disappeared. At a previous meeting on January 14 he discussed the persistence of paralysis in limited groups of muscles, and also pernicious anaemia². Later on in the year he published a paper on simple dilatation of the stomach or gastrectasis³, a subject in which he had been interested for nearly twenty years.

In August 1887, John Young Walker MacAlister (1856–1925), then Librarian of the Leeds Library, was appointed resident Librarian of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, in succession to the late J. B. Bailey, recently elected Librarian to the Royal College of Surgeons of England. The old Medical and Chirurgical Society was then at 53 Berners Street, London, W., with a list of less than 800 Fellows, and MacAlister was largely responsible for its move to 20 Hanover Square in 1890, and for its transformation into the Royal Society of Medicine in 1907 and its removal in 1912 into its new house at 1 Wimpole Street, W., with a roll of over 4000 Fellows at the time of his resignation in 1925. When speaking in reminiscent vein on receiving a testimonial on July 7, 1920, Sir John MacAlister, as he had been since the previous year, said that his appointment in 1887 “was largely due to the strong support of my greatly

¹ *Lancet*, 1887, i. 780.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1887, i. 214.

³ *Med. Press and Circ.*, London, 1887, N.S., xliv. 319.

loved and revered old friend Sir Clifford Allbutt, 1887 then of Leeds.”

1888

In 1888, when the British Medical Association met at Glasgow, under the presidency of the late Professor Sir W. T. Gairdner (1824–1907), Allbutt received the honorary LL.D. degree and delivered the Address in Medicine, a custom which has been abandoned since 1914, on the “Classification of Diseases by Means of Comparative Nosology”¹. At this important meeting he took the opportunity of pleading for the broader conception to be obtained by the study of comparative medicine and pathology, and dealt with the science of the history and geography of disease, a subject at that time somewhat neglected in this country. The careful investigation of the diseases of animals was advocated in order to throw light on those of man. To this theme he often returned, and after many years he had in 1923 the gratification of seeing established in Cambridge an Institute for Research in the Pathology of Animal Diseases and the appointment of J. B. Buxton as Professor of Animal Pathology. He was also appropriately elected as the first President of the Section of Comparative Medicine of the Royal Society of Medicine for the year 1923–24.

From the opening paragraphs of his Glasgow address the following may be quoted: “Of late years my associations have prevented an attachment to that kind of special investigation to which my earlier years were devoted; I have, therefore, none of the results of experiment to lay before you”. . . . “In one

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1888, ii. 284.

1888 large conception of Medicine my mind has dwelt for many years, and I gladly seize this time to place it before you, for I believe it to be the *Novum Organon* of Medicine, its instrument, and a clew to its investigation. I ask your permission to make a few reflections on the classification of diseases by means of Comparative Nosology—a method which will co-ordinate the ever-increasing accumulations of our clinical note-books and of our laboratories and create a system which, in its turn, will direct and inspire the labours of the inductive inquirer of the future.” He quoted from his paper on “The Significance of Skin Diseases in the Classification of Disease” in the *St. George’s Hospital Reports* (1867, ii. 187), and from his address when President of the Section of Medicine at the British Medical Association Meeting at Worcester in 1882, when he pointed out that there could not be any complete therapeutics until the science of comparative nosology is in great measure constructed—a science as yet scarcely begun, nay, as yet scarcely recognized.

That summer, when holiday-making in Switzerland, he was on his arrival at Schaffhausen eagerly greeted by Sir James Paget (1814–99), who was in great distress on account of the sudden dangerous illness of one of his party, and had gone to watch the new arrivals at the hotel “with the faint hope that an English doctor might be among them; and there was Dr. Clifford Allbutt—I could not, in all England, have desired to see any other man more”.¹

¹ *Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget*, p. 375, 1901.

COMMISSIONER IN LUNACY

1889

IN 1889 the British Medical Association met for the 1889 second time in Leeds, and when the arrangements for the appointment were under consideration, Allbutt's name naturally came up for the presidency, but he gracefully waived his claims in favour of those of his colleague C. G. Wheelhouse. As matters turned out, he had left Leeds by the time the meeting took place, and was unable to attend; but, as will be seen directly, he had occasion to refer critically to his friend's Presidential Address, and entered into a correspondence with him on the subject in the pages of the medical press.

In April 1889 Allbutt, rather suddenly as it seemed to the world at large, and indeed to all except his most intimate friends, accepted a Commissionership in Lunacy, and left Leeds for London. In reality this was only the realization of an opportunity of escaping from a life of strain that had for some time been too strenuous. The accumulated demands of a consulting practice, extending from the Trent to the Tees, numerous official responsibilities and other duties, although his physiciancy to the Leeds Infirmary came to an end in 1884 and he wisely always took six weeks' holiday in Switzerland, were beginning

1889 to exact their toll. Indeed, an eminent London physician warned him that a breakdown would follow within six months if he continued to lead his accustomed life, a verdict which coincided with his own impression. The history of his appointment as Commissioner may be told in the following account which Sir James Crichton-Browne has most kindly provided: "When lecturing 'On the Education of the Hand' to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society in February 1886, I was Allbutt's guest, and when driving out to his house at Meanwood after the lecture, he said: 'It is this hill that finishes me off. I am busy in my rooms in Park Square all the forenoon; consultations at Dewsbury, Halifax, Harrogate, and so on fill up all the afternoon, and then when I get back I have this long drive, am generally late for dinner, and after that don't feel equal to the work I should like to do. As you know, I have had tempting invitations to go to London, but there I suppose it would be pretty much the same thing. What I want is an appointment that would involve less fatigue and give more leisure.' 'I quite sympathize with you,' I said, 'but unfortunately there is no public medical appointment in this country that is worthy of your acceptance. You are making a very large income, and the salary attached to the best public medical appointments, those of the Lord Chancellor's Visitors in Lunacy and of the Chief Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, does not exceed £1500 a year.' 'That,' he replied, 'would satisfy me. I have some private means and have saved something, and I should accept one of those appointments were it offered to me.' I pointed out to him as forcibly as I could the somewhat crippling nature of such appoint-

ments from a medical and scientific point of view, 1889 and the fact that they all meant arduous work, although of a different character from that in which he was then engaged. But he adhered to his wish to secure such an appointment, and I promised to let him know when there was likely to be a vacancy in any of them.

“In March 1889 I ascertained that Dr. Rhys Williams, one of the Commissioners in Lunacy, who was in bad health, was about to resign and told Allbutt so, and when that resignation almost immediately took place Allbutt’s application was sent in. There were many eligible candidates, but Lord Halsbury had no hesitation in selecting Allbutt. His qualifications as a physician were pre-eminent, and he had some special lunacy experience in the work he had done at the West Riding Asylum in my time, and as one of the Committee of Visitors of that Institution, which he had afterwards become. Allbutt was appointed a Commissioner on April 25, 1889, and held that office until April 1892, when he was appointed Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Cambridge. On his resignation of the Commissionership, a resolution was passed by the Board expressing regret at the loss of his services and the appreciation and regard in which he was held.”

His colleagues as legal Commissioners were Mr. C. P. Phillips, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles S. Bagot, and Mr. W. H. Frere, who were all members when he was appointed, and remained on after he resigned, the two latter being most frequently his colleagues in visiting the mental hospitals. The telegram announcing the appointment was handed to him on his way down from a climb on Helvellyn, in the English Lakes,

1889 and thus cut short his holiday, as he at once went to London. This was the end of his long and busy career in Leeds.

With regard to his professional income in Leeds, the difference between the value of money forty and fifty years ago and now must be borne in mind. He told a colleague of his that he had once made over £6000 in a year, and that after he was fairly started he generally made between £4000 and £5000 a year. A house physician of his during the height of Allbutt's popularity recalls the somewhat grim joke in medical circles that "no good Yorkshireman would rest quietly in his grave if, before his death, he had not been seen by Clifford Allbutt".

A colleague of Allbutt's at the Leeds Infirmary writes: "The three outstanding physicians of the nineteenth century in Leeds and Yorkshire were undoubtedly Hobson, Charles Chadwick, and Clifford Allbutt", who were physicians to the Leeds General Infirmary from 1832-42, 1842-71, and 1864-84, respectively. "They all prided themselves on their horseflesh and their turn-outs. Dr. Hobson either kept or bred thoroughbred horses; Charles Chadwick always had four horses standing in his stable, and sometimes five or six; Allbutt was always very well turned out, and, as far as I remember, always almost drove a pair, and usually roans."

When Commissioner in Lunacy he became convinced on logical grounds that general paralysis of the insane is due to syphilis; at the time he expressed this opinion freely in conversation, and even mentioned the subject when speaking at a medical dinner, but it is not to be found anywhere in print. He argued that it was generally regarded as a disease of cities,

but that there was little general paralysis in some inland mental hospitals, whereas there was much at the Royal Naval Asylum at Great Yarmouth, and sailors are not men of cities. If, therefore, it is a disease of cities, the question arises what infection is likely to cause it, and his answer was syphilis. This was considerably before the syphilitic origin of general paralysis was accepted. In after years he several times recalled this anticipation of a present-day commonplace to his friends. That his interest in psychological medicine was maintained to the end of his life was shown in many ways; for example, by his part in establishing the Diploma in Psychological Medicine at Cambridge in 1912, by his vigorously expressed disapproval of psycho-analysis in the Presidential Address at the Cambridge meeting of the British Medical Association in 1920, and also by the following letter in 1923 to the late Sir Frederick Mott:

You asked me if I had read your *Psychology and Medicine*.¹ I have just done so, and with the greatest pleasure. It is a comfort to find we have some pillars who uphold the physiological (and pathological) study of mind stripped of medieval entology. . . . Your hope concerning waning of syphilis is comforting. . . . Science has her own limited field, which is not philosophy nor literature. . . . P. 7—Freud and Jung: We have heard all our lives of the contemplative and the practical man; what is gained by the very pedantic terms “introverts and extraverts”? And the secret springs of character have been the study for ages of the poets and others whose insight is infinitely deeper. . . . It is grievous that, while railways are scattering populations, no one makes for a photographic survey. Many counties have a characteristic race, *e.g.* Sussex, long isolated by forest, etc.; Dorset;

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, i. 403.

1889 parts of York; Northumbria; Scottish Border. . . . Do not speak ill of the mystic; all religion rests upon him. Very curious about the lack of insanity among the persecuted Serbs. I don't see why a sane parent should not produce a defective child if it only falls short of development, an accident or cheek, as one might say. As to insanity, I am "intrigued" by the cases of recurrent insanity, *e.g.* mania. These persons are quite normal between whiles. I know several of them in private life; quite normal persons for weeks and months until back comes the (poison?). This means that the machinery remains all right. It looks like some "wireless" disorder, which ought to be run to ground in some gland. . . . I have had intimation again of the terrible mischief these men (psycho-analysts) do; even those supposed to be "trained": young women with minds poisoned, family secrets dragged into the light, bitter discussions, and so on. Calamitous! It is a fashion like "Christian Science", etc. We do not realize the harm that is done by talking about things. Evil things become familiar, and tolerated; *e.g.* people read so often about divorce that they get to regard it as part of customary life. And so for other evils. . . . "Complex" not very English and not very useful. It does not convey the notion of systematic build-up. . . . There is lots more to say, if you survive the avalanche.

After living for two months in a furnished house at Richmond, the Allbutts settled down in London at 3 Melbury Road, West Kensington, and no doubt the artistic atmosphere of the neighbourhood, with G. F. Watts at Little Holland House, Lord Leighton, Marcus Stone, Luke Fildes, and others close by, was congenial. Allbutt had been a member of the Athenaeum since 1880, and after coming to London was for a short time a member of the Savile Club (1891-95), being elected in the same year as Rudyard Kipling and his friend Mr. Justice Alfred Wills. He was one of "The Sunday Tramps", established in

1879, who, under the leadership of Leslie Stephen 1889 (1832–1904), their “chief guide”, explored the country round London and occasionally dropped in on their friends, especially George Meredith on Box Hill, in the country. During the fifteen years of their existence “The Sunday Tramps” altogether numbered sixty; the other medical members were Robert Bridges, Charles Creighton, Clinton Dent, Donald MacAlister, A. T. Myers, and G. H. Savage.¹

The summer was naturally much occupied in completing the move from Leeds, and instead of taking his usual holiday of six weeks in Switzerland he went to Scotland. In October he gave the introductory address at St. George’s Hospital, taking as his subject “The Need for a Liberal Education”;² he spoke of a university as “a permanent embodiment of the ideal of wisdom as opposed to technical furniture—of the ideal of mental culture as opposed to the collection of ‘tips’ and devices in memory”. Towards the close of the address he made some shrewd recommendations about conduct in practice, and urged men to welcome a consultation and a second opinion—advice which, having retired from a most extensive practice, he was exceptionally well placed to give; he added: “if I had my way, no man, not even a pauper, should die of acute or obscure disease without a consultation”. He also criticized the remarks about the old apprenticeship system of medical students made in the Presidential Address at the recent meeting of the British Medical Association at Leeds by his friend and former colleague Claudius

¹ *Vide* list of “The Sunday Tramps” in *Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen*, by F. W. Maitland, p. 500, 1906.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1889, ii. 754.

1889 Galen Wheelhouse, who was one of the first three direct representatives elected by the profession of England on the General Medical Council in 1886. It so happened that in the October address¹ to the Medical Department of the Yorkshire College at Leeds Professor (later Sir) William T. Gairdner, Regius Professor of Medicine at Glasgow, also dissented from Wheelhouse's view on this question, and the result was a correspondence in the *British Medical Journal* between these three friendly protagonists in which others joined, one of the latter reproving Allbutt for "flippancy" and thus bringing down on his head a deservedly rather severe rejoinder.

1890

In the early summer he spent a holiday on the wild coast of Pembrokeshire and wrote an article entitled "St. Davids" in *The Speaker* on June 28, giving a pleasant account of his experiences and pointing out that the tired worker who wants relaxation, and, above all, change, can without crossing the Channel, and within eight hours of Paddington, lose himself in a new country, among a new people, and in a strange language. In fact, that here may be found things to interest him as deeply as he would abroad.

The annual meeting of the British Medical Association was held at Birmingham under the presidency of Dr. (later Sir) W. F. Wade. On July 31 there was a discussion in the Section of Psychology on "Hypnotism in Therapeutics", opened by the late Dr. Norman Kerr, the President of the Society for

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1889, ii. 751.

the Study of Inebriety, who urged the medical profession to set their face against the practice of hypnotism in any way as unreliable, never free from danger, and liable to the gravest abuses. At this time the uses of hypnotism and suggestion, as practised at Nancy, on much less dramatic and more reasonable lines than by Charcot and his school at the Salpêtrière, by Liébault, a general practitioner, H. Bernheim, physician to the hospital, Beaunis, the Professor of Physiology, and Liégeois, a lawyer and author of the standard work on the medico-legal aspects of hypnotism, were attracting a good deal of attention. In a broad-minded and independent speech Allbutt stood up for the possible therapeutic use of hypnotism, and pointed out that the opener had not supplied any proofs of the alleged dangers. Eventually, after an adjournment of the discussion to the next day, a committee, under the chairmanship of Professor W. T. Gairdner, was appointed to investigate the true nature of hypnotic phenomena, the propriety or otherwise of its value in the treatment of disease. Nine years later Allbutt included in his *System of Medicine* (1899, viii. 420-28) an article by J. Milne Bramwell on "Hypnotism in the Treatment of Insanity and Allied Disorders".

1891

In May Allbutt took with him his friend the late Thomas Hardy to see a large private lunatic asylum; Hardy, who had intended to stay a quarter of an hour only, became so interested in the pathos of the cases that he remained there most of the day, and talked to many of the male and women patients. In

1891 July at the Bournemouth meeting of the British Medical Association Allbutt read a paper in the Psychological Section on "The Proposed Hospitals for the Insane",¹ in which he brought forward reasons showing that mental hospitals for more than a thousand patients were undesirable.

¹ *Journ. Ment. Sc.*, 1891, xxxvii. 314.

REGIUS PROFESSORSHIP OF PHYSIC AT CAMBRIDGE

1892

ON January 29 Sir George Paget, who had been 1892
Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge since the
resignation of Professor H. J. Hales Bond (1801–83)
in 1872, died full of years and honours, having with
Sir George M. Humphry and Sir Michael Foster
(1836–1907) raised the Cambridge School from a
state of dormancy to one of great activity. Five
Regius Professorships—of Divinity, Hebrew, Greek,
Physic, and Civil Law—were founded with a stipend
of £40 per annum each by Henry VIII in 1540. A
sixth Regius Professor—of Modern History—was
instituted in 1724 by George I. Of the five original
Regius chairs there were up to 1900 the following
number of incumbents:¹

Divinity	30	with an average duration of tenure of 12 years.			
Hebrew .	25	„	„	„	14·5 „
Greek .	30	„	„	„	12 „
Physic .	18	„	„	„	20 „
Civil Law	25	„	„	„	14·5 „

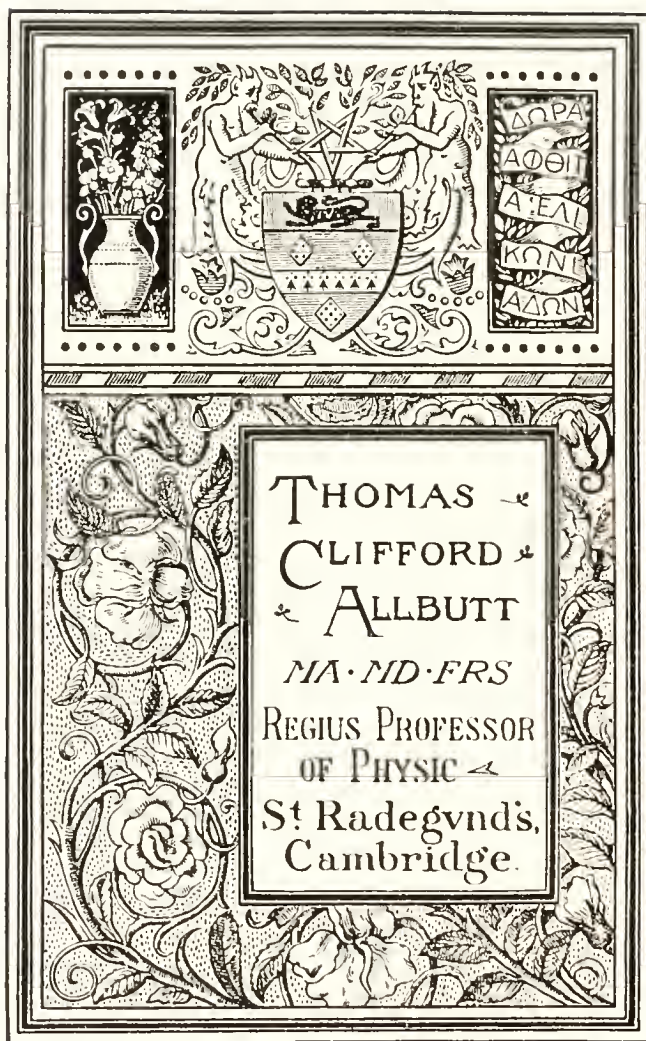
The longer tenure of office by the Professors of Physic
might at the first blush be ascribed to their skill in

¹ At Oxford, where five Regius Professorships with similar stipends
were founded in 1546, the incumbents of the Chairs up to 1900
number as follows: Divinity, 34; Hebrew, 24; Greek, 27; Medicine,
20; Civil Law, 21.

1892 prolonging their own lives, but though to some extent this may be true, it is not the whole story. The shorter duration of the Professors of Divinity, Hebrew, Greek, and Civil Law would appear to have been in part due to their translation to some other higher or more lucrative office, whereas the Regius Professors of Physic were local physicians and, with one exception, that of Dr. H. J. H. Bond, who was Regius from 1851 to 1872, vacated their office only with their last breath. During the eighteenth century only three Regius Professors of Physic were appointed: Christopher Green, appointed in 1700 when forty-nine years of age, held the chair till his death in 1741, and was succeeded by Russell Plumptre (1709–93), then thirty-two years of age, who held it for the record period of fifty-two years, and on his death in 1793 was followed by Sir Isaac Pennington (1745–1817), then forty-eight years of age, who held it for the twenty-four remaining years of his life. Francis Glisson (1597–1677), the most distinguished of these Regius Professors of Physic, occupied the chair for forty-one years, from 1636 until his death in 1677 when eighty years of age. The shortest tenure of office was that of Ralph Winterton (1600–36), a most excellent Grecian, who died the year after his appointment. Regius Professors, like all Professors appointed after October 1, 1924, now vacate their office at the end of the academic year in which they attain the age of sixty-five years.

In 1590, just fifty years after the foundation of the Regius Professorships, Thomas Lorking (1528–1591), who was Regius Professor of Physic (1564–91), obtained from Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King-of-Arms, a grant to the five Regius Professors by letters





BOOK-PLATE OF PROFESSOR CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

patent, "and their successors in lyke place and office for euer," of arms and crests.¹ The description of the arms and crests of the Regius Professors of Physic reads as follows:

Arms: azure a fess ermine and three lozenges gold; on a chief gules a gold leopard charged on the side with the letter M sable. *Crest:* on a wreath gold and azure a silver quinquangle.

Allbutt had an artistic book-plate (*vide* figure) on which the arms and crest of the Regius Professor of Physic occupied a prominent position, and habitually used them on his writing-paper

The stipend of the Regius Professor of Physic was increased from the original £40, partly by a house and premises bequeathed to the University by John Crane (1572–1652), apothecary and Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, for the use of the Professor; but as the site was required for the building of the Senate House in 1724, they were exchanged for property in Market Street. At the time of Allbutt's appointment the stipend was £700, subject to a deduction of £200 if the Professor held a college headship or fellowship, and was met from the trust fund and ancient stipend and the balance from the University Chest. Under the Grace of October 31, 1919, the property held for the Trust was sold and the proceeds invested by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. For three years the stipend was then in excess of £1200 per annum; but since 1923 it has been £1200, at which sum it was definitely fixed in June 1926.

Of the six Regius Professors, three, those of Civil Law, Physic, and Modern History, are appointed by

¹ *Vide Historical Register of the University of Cambridge*, by J. R. Tanner, p. 71, 1917.

1892 the Crown, the other three being elected by Boards of Electors constituted as in the case of most other professorships.

Very shortly after Paget's death the late Sir Andrew Clark (1826-93), then President of both the Royal College of Physicians of London and of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, which in 1907 expanded into the Royal Society of Medicine, was sounded on behalf of some members of the Medical Faculty by the late Dr. Alex Hill, Master of Downing from 1888 to 1907. But, though talking it over for two hours, while some thirty patients waited for their morning appointments, and then expressing how much he would enjoy an office which would give him the leisure to record his experiences and observations, and "break the net" in which his London work had entangled him, Sir Andrew, after further consideration, decided that he would not entertain the invitation. The post was then offered to Allbutt, who before he left Leeds was believed to have been not unwilling to consider the similar appointment at Oxford, should it have been offered to him. In fact, it has been said that had Sir Henry Acland (1815-1900) been certain that he could secure Allbutt's election as his successor he would gladly have retired considerably sooner than he actually did in 1894. This question, however, was, as far as those then in Oxford now recollect, never ventilated or discussed, and probably remained in Acland's and Allbutt's minds. But in 1892 the circumstances had changed, and Allbutt, now settled in London and enjoying the new life with its freedom after the strain of his enormous consulting practice, and with the attraction of new and intellectual

society, was somewhat disinclined to embark on a new career. In his address at York in the following October he described this London interlude as an enjoyable "holiday of a new vocation and a new studentship". Eventually he was persuaded by the late Sir William Broadbent, on behalf of Her Majesty's advisers, to reconsider his decision, and his appointment was accordingly notified to the University by the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, in a letter, now in the Registry of the University, dated February 21. 1892

In March he was elected a Fellow of his old College—Gonville and Caius—being the seventh out of the eighteen Regius Professors of Physic to be a member of that Society. His selection was the first departure from the custom of appointing a physician on the spot, and as the *Lancet's* annotation (1892, i. 481), while applauding the appointment, said, "it must have come on many as a surprise, for even 'the calm and serene' air of Cambridge may have been slightly ruffled by the news, where more than one physician may have had hopes in connection with the vaeancy". Though, therefore, arousing some disappointed opposition, it was a most wise choice, probably largely due to Sir Michael Foster. Sir William Osler's translation from Baltimore to the sister university in 1904–5, a similar break with procedure and a much more striking introduction of new blood, was attended by similar success. These two men added to the academic status of a university professorship the experience, reputation, and authority gained in the wider medical world in which they continued to play an active part. Like his one-time colleague, Sir Henry Acland, Regius Professor of

1892 Medicine at Oxford from 1858 to 1894, Allbutt had a refreshingly wide and far-seeing conception of medicine, rapidly picking out the essentials, and more concerned with general principles than with details. They both realized the fundamental importance of a sound general education, deprecated the cry "specialize early", and on the grounds of insufficient clinical material, were opposed to the establishment of complete medical schools at the two older universities. Allbutt was anxious to link up the various parts of the curriculum, and to illustrate normal by disordered function; for example, by showing cases of dropsy to students in the course of their physiological, bio-chemical, and pharmacological work. They both had most keenly at heart the establishment of the science of comparative pathology; in a letter¹ dated July 24, 1891, Acland wrote from Oxford: "At last I can see the hope of the foundation here of a general comparative pathology, one of my lifelong dreams for Oxford, through good report and evil report. You must all help me to counteract the craze here to educate *numbers* ONLY for the 'M.B.', omitting thereby all earlier conception of the wider morphology and pathology which John Hunter, one would have thought, had founded for ever." In his address at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Worcester in 1882 and at Glasgow in 1888 Allbutt had pleaded vigorously for the same ideal.

The appointment of a Regius Professor of Physic who was not previously a resident and already a

¹ Quoted by F. H. Garrison, *Contributions to Medical and Biological Research, dedicated to Sir William Osler in honour of his Seventieth Birthday*, 1919, ii. 718.

physician to Addenbrooke's Hospital was followed 1892 by a state of affairs which, to say the least of it, was most anomalous and unfortunate. For eight years Allbutt was without a status in the hospital, and therefore was like a professor, say of physiology, without a laboratory. The Minutes of the lay Board of Addenbrooke's Hospital show that on October 5, 1892, a small committee was appointed to confer with the medical staff with a view of associating the Regius Professor with the work of the hospital; on October 24 the conference reported that no means of associating Professor Allbutt could be recommended, and there the matter remained. It was not until 1900, Dr. P. W. Latham having vacated his position as physician in 1899, that this condition, which Allbutt had borne with the greatest forbearance, was rectified as the result of an arrangement between the University and Addenbrooke's Hospital. Grace 3 of March 15, 1900, confirming a Report of the Council of the Senate, provided that—

There shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Hospital out of the University Chest, the yearly sum of £300, such payment to continue so long as the provisions hereinafter contained on the part of the Governors are observed, namely:

(i.) That the Governors, on the application in writing of the Vice-Chancellor, elect the Regius Professor of Physic to be a Physician, and the Professor of Surgery, if any, to be a Surgeon of the Hospital; such respective Professor to hold office during the tenure of his Professorship.

(ii.) That the Governors, on the application in writing of such Physician or Surgeon respectively, assign to him a proportionate share of the beds in his department corresponding to the number of Physicians or Surgeons in such respective department.

(iii.) That if either of the said Professors shall not desire

1892 to have charge of beds, all proper and reasonable facilities be afforded to him for lecturing either in the Wards or in the Board Room as may be desirable.

(iv.) That all proper facilities be provided at the Hospital for conducting the University Examinations in Clinical Medicine and Clinical Surgery, any expenses incurred in the conduct of such Examinations being paid by the University as heretofore.

Neither of the said Professors shall receive any share of the fees paid by the Students.

It was therefore fortunate that these eight years (1892-99) were extremely busy with the editing of the *System of Medicine* and visits to Greece (1894), to the Twelfth International Medical Congress at Moscow (1897), and to America to give the Lane Lectures at San Francisco (1898), when Allbutt extended his journey to Japan. Further, during this period he took, as will be seen, a prominent part in University affairs, and in all respects proved that the Professorship is in no way, as has sometimes been suggested, "a retiring billet".

In May he delivered an inaugural lecture at Cambridge on "Standards and Methods in Medical Teaching".¹ After quoting the dictum of a colleague that "a physician should be a kind of poet", he added: this is "a hard saying, for to their patients what are the most scientific physicians if they be *διανοητικοὶ πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες*, if they know all things save the human heart. 'On ne connaît jamais parfaitement que celui que l'on dévise.' " He gave much wise and critical advice in discussing the value of the tradition of the University to which he had returned after fighting amidst "the roaring of the great loom of the labouring and sweating world without". His message

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1892, i. 1005.

ran: "Had not Oxford and Cambridge of late years 1892 revolutionized their methods both in positive science and philosophy, even their great traditions would not have saved them from decay. Neither for medicine, then, nor for other callings, are the universities primarily professional schools. Any opportunities for gaining professional knowledge here are adventitious, and might even become means of danger did we not always bear in mind that the chief function of a university which is true to her trust must be to promote a harmonious development of all the faculties of man, knowing that the rest will follow in due season. In this trust let us exhort ourselves to stand fast." Elsewhere in this address he spoke of classical education: "It is sad to hear it commonly said that the day of learned physicians is past, that they are gone with periwigs and bric-à-brac. And I have had already to observe to my pain that the Cambridge medical student of to-day is by no means 'learned'; that too often he thinks loosely, and that he does not always write even the English of the gentlemen who do the Fires and the Murders for country journals. On his Latinity I will discreetly keep silence." After, and largely as a result of this lecture, the question of introducing an essay into the tripos examinations in order to improve the facility of writing English was discussed at length, the situation being described, with a certain poetic licence, in the pages of the *Cambridge Review* (1894-95, xvi. 159):

There's an awful row in Cambridge, and its starter is no lesser
 Than a most important person, who is likewise a Professor;
 For he said, "The reason Cambridge fails, while Oxford's a
 success, is

Essays."

1892 If we only were like Oxford, we might safely hope to win
 Situations on some journals which as yet won't let us in;
 And the key that will unlock for us the portal to the Press is
 Essays.

So memorialists by dozens drew a letter up to state
 "Our facility in English is at best inadequate;
 And the cure we would assure you for our obvious distress is
 Essays".

Then the Special Boards are summoned to discuss the situation;
 They admit we are a failure without any hesitation;
 "There's one only panacea"—every Special Board confesses,
 "Essays".

So hurrah! for the Professor who has shown us our sterility,
 For we soon shall be possessors of an adequate facility,
 For we're adding to the number of our pre-existing messes
 Essays.

Settling down in Cambridge, they for some six months occupied a house, 17 Brookside, opposite the Leys School, and then moved permanently into a larger house in quieter surroundings and with a fine garden, St. Radegunds, Chaucer Road. During the long vacation he gave a course of lectures in his room in the Medical School "On Fevers and Infectious Diseases", which were correlated with the work done in the pathological course. In July he attended the meeting of the British Medical Association at Nottingham, and took part in the discussion introduced by the late Sir William H. Broadbent on the cardiac tonics in the Section of Pharmacology and Therapeutics. It is a privilege of his official position to give addresses, and he responded nobly and without delay to these calls for the next thirty years. On October 12 he gave the inaugural address¹ at the York Medical Society, and as the audience was not entirely

¹ *Lancet*, 1892, ii. 1149-52.

medical, he discussed the relations that exist, and 1892
should exist, between medical men and society at large, the place and function which the profession has in the body of the State. Thus he reviewed some of the difficult problems that medical men have to face, such as the prolongation of life when it is a painful agony from mortal disease, the care of the mentally defective, and the prevention of suicide. With regard to eugenics and the survival of the fittest, he said: "We cannot tell which shall be the fittest till the form of the coming time is revealed. A society at one time may need bone and muscle, at another time may dispense with some of its prize-fighters and need the qualities of the inner life. . . . Tenderness, gratitude, love, are more to us than two legs, two arms, or two lungs; moreover, the higher gifts of the imagination may be found in the frailest or the humblest vessels. What would have been our loss had the parents of Keats or the Lambs been forbidden to marry by the common order of medical men to forbid the unions which may produce such children?" He pleaded for a broad sympathy and acquaintance with humanity, for medical men have not only to minister to bodily ills in the grosser sense but to disorders of the mind and the imagination; he repeated what he had more than once publicly said: that titles and the honours of the market-place are rather for others; and that the calling of medicine, as Darenberg said, had "something religious, something solemn and sacred", which ill accords with controversy and domination. In conclusion, he referred to the then burning question of vivisection, and in pleading for the acquisition of more knowledge, quoted Sir William Gull's dictum: "Nothing, madam, is so mischievous as ignorance",

1892 In 1892 his article on "Diseases of the Pleura" in Quain's *Dictionary of Medicine* was revised for the second edition with the help of Professor T. Wardrop Griffith, with whom he corresponded on the subject. Thus he wrote when near Scarborough on August 24, 1892:

MY DEAR GRIFFITH—Will you kindly do this: (1) Read over my article carefully with a pencil and note freely and plainly any matter, word, sentence, paragraph, grammar, sense or construction which seem to you in the least questionable. And let me have your notes. On my part I promise that I will not give any more weight to them than you desire me to do. I am too old a hand to have any literary vanity or to forget the advantage of a "fresh eye" on one's MS. (2) Will you give me references to any new views or practice, good or bad, which should be noticed. After our final removal to Cambridge next month I shall have plenty of time to work the article up. . . .

THE SYSTEM OF MEDICINE

1893

THE *System of Medicine*, edited by Sir John Russell Reynolds (1828–96), in five volumes, which came out between 1866 and 1879, had by this time become somewhat out of date, and accordingly the publishing firm of Macmillans approached Allbutt to edit a new *System of Medicine*. With a mind that always ran on big lines he began to plan what was probably his greatest literary service to medicine, and in determining the scope of this laborious undertaking he insisted on broad principles. Advice was sought freely from others, and during its early stages, especially from Alfred Antunes Kanthack (1863–98), who for some years acted as deputy for C. S. Roy (1854–97), the first Professor of Pathology, before succeeding to this chair, which to the great loss of medical science he occupied for little more than a year; Virchow, under whom he had worked, said of him, “May English medicine never lack such men”. In December 1893 preparations for the work were actively begun, and a circular explaining the scope of the work and asking those whom he wished to be contributors to let him know on what subjects they would be prepared to write articles. A feature of the *System* was the prolegomena, or articles dealing with general

1893 principles, especially those occupying the first half of the first volume, of which J. G. Adami's article, or rather monograph, on inflammation, F. W. Mott's general pathology of nutrition, Burdon-Sanderson's doctrine of fever, and Kanthack's general pathology of infection stand out. In his philosophic introduction he dealt with science and practice, with etiology, and with the classification and nomenclature of disease in a manner which made many regret its omission from the second edition. In commenting on the absence at the present day of the philosophical outlook on medicine and the distinctions between words, thoughts, and things, Dr. F. G. Crookshank¹ wrote: "It is perhaps a sign of the times that the admirable essay contributed by Sir Clifford Allbutt to the first edition of his *System of Medicine* in 1896, in which were discussed, in inimitable style, such topics as diagnosis, diseases, causes, types, nomenclature, and terminology, should have disappeared from subsequent issues. This essay is now seldom mentioned: perhaps it is even less frequently read. But, to the present writer, in 1896 a raw diplomat, it came as something of a revelation for which he has ever since been humbly grateful." No less than fourteen other articles appeared under his name, the chief being those on diseases of the heart and stomach, and on neurasthenia and chlorosis; but his wide range of knowledge was shown by those on other and very different subjects, such as adiposis dolorosa, opium and other forms of poisoning, senile paraplegia, tuberculous glands in the neck, and mountain sickness, on which he could write with the authority of an alpine climber and personal experience. With his wide read-

¹ *Med. Press and Circ.*, London, 1923, clxvi. 502.

ing he did much in supplementing the contributors' 1893
articles, and with his high standard of composition
and the correct use of words he took the editing very
seriously, and did much in altering and sometimes
even in largely rewriting articles. His methodical
habits and business-like promptitude in answering
letters by return of post were in no small degree re-
sponsible for the success of *The System*. An editor has
necessarily many trials and experiences; the appear-
ance of the second volume was delayed by the tardi-
ness of the Vaccination Commission, which sat from
November 1888 to April 1896, in bringing out its
report, and in the preface to the fifth volume he ex-
plained the delay in the delivery of Professor W. H.
Welsh's classical articles on thrombosis and embol-
ism; this doyen of the Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, where he was Professor of Pathology from
1884 to 1916, Director of the School of Hygiene and
Public Health from 1916 to 1927, and Professor of
Medical History from 1927, was then committed to
a desperate fight for the freedom of physiological re-
search in the United States of North America, and so
unable to fulfil his engagement in due time; with his
light touch the Editor went on: "He is unkind enough
to add that 'all this trouble comes from England,
where, if your scientific men had made any sort of
courageous stand twenty years ago I should not have
been sacrificing my time and energies in this way. I
am disposed to think that the trouble I have caused
you is a judgment for the delinquencies of your coun-
trymen in this matter.'" After some further remarks
on the difficulties of his contributor, Allbutt wrote:
"This story I have ventured to tell at some length
because it contains an interest and perhaps a warning

1893 for us all". The concluding paragraph in this preface runs as follows: "Dr. Mackintosh of Clapham has sent to me the list of errata in the third volume, which is printed upon another page of this one; for this kindness I trust that in a sincere and chastened spirit I am duly thankful to him". A glance at these sixteen corrections shows that, except "for *left* read *right*", and "for *former* read *latter*", they are not very serious; but there was a curious misprint, in a later volume, which throws a light on the way we read proofs, and these were read by several eyes, namely, "*cowtail* nervous system". One of the contributors, the late Dr. Samuel Gec (1839–1911), a most meticulous writer of condensed English, stipulated that if he contributed an article, as he did, on pleurisy, it should not be editorially altered. Another contributor, now also long dead, sent in an article written partly on scraps of paper, such as the backs of envelopes, as if composed at any odd moments and on train journeys; knowing him well, Allbutt inquired why, as understood between them, it had not been typewritten; the author then confessed that he had sent it to a typist who, however, could not make anything out of it. The only thing to be done was to send it straight off as it was to the printers, and hope for the best; fortunately they made a good job of what turned out to be a most valuable article. Originally planned to be, like Russell Reynolds' *System*, in five volumes, it eventually extended to eight, the first coming out in 1896 and last in 1899. In addition, he edited as a companion volume *A System of Gynaecology* (1896) with the late W. S. Playfair (1835–1903), Physician for Diseases of Women and Children at King's College Hospital, who introduced with much enthusiasm and

success Weir Mitchell's rest-cure treatment into this 1893 country. In 1906 a second edition of this *System of Gynaecology by Many Writers* (pp. 949), edited in conjunction with T. W. Eden, Obstetric Physician to Charing Cross Hospital, appeared. The *System of Medicine* was a very remarkable achievement in the face of inherent difficulties and delays, and indeed was carried through in a relatively shorter time than the second edition of eleven volumes (1905-11), for the management of which he was not entirely responsible. It was gracefully dedicated to Sir John Russell Reynolds, and was at once recognized as triumphantly representing medicine at its high-water mark. Osler, then in Baltimore, was anxious to mark this immediate success by a congratulatory dinner, but, perhaps because this was at the time of the South African War, this generous tribute never took form. In the second edition he revised and in great measure rewrote his articles, some of them being much expanded; for example, "Mechanical Strain of the Heart" in the first edition, which occupied fifteen pages, appeared as "Overstress of the Heart" in the second edition, and, including the late R. W. Michell's account of the cardio-vascular phenomena in athletic undergraduates at Cambridge, ran to sixty pages. In addition, he contributed to the first volume an account of ancient medicine, which was combined with J. F. Payne's summary of "Medicine in Modern Europe" in a new article on "The History of Medicine".

The other events in this year show that he was active at Cambridge and in the outside world of medicine. On May 17, at the annual meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, to which he had been

1893 elected on May 2, 1892, he read a paper on "The Trade in Amber in Ancient Times", a subject that had long interested him. The paper, which was not published, was discussed by the late Professor T. McKenny Hughes, who said that the date at which the trade in amber began was full of difficulties, and that the amber found at Girton was associated with bronze of Roman and Saxon age, and therefore had not any connection with the Bronze Age. Professor W. W. Skeat made some interesting remarks on the etymology of the word amber, which was of Arabic origin, and the Master of Corpus (E. H. Perowne) showed some beautiful specimens of amber.

At the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Newcastle-on-Tyne he opened a discussion on the treatment of enlarged cervical glands in the Section of Diseases of Children, presided over by Sir Thomas Barlow, being followed by his co-pioneer in the surgical removal of tuberculous glands—T. Pridgin Teale. In the same section he took an active part in the debate, introduced by Frederic Taylor, on abdominal tuberculosis in childhood and its treatment; his main point was that, as a rule, tuberculosis is a local process. Rather later in the year a letter previously written to Sir A. Mayo Robson was published¹ in connection with the subject of peritoneal adhesions as a cause of visceral disability; it recorded the case of a man with long-continued gastralgia necessitating constant administration of morphine, the cause of which was found at the necropsy to be a band running between the stomach and the abdominal wall.

On the sudden death from angina pectoris on

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1893, ii. 1407.

August 16 of J. M. Charcot (1825–93), whom he had 1893 known from his post-graduate days in Paris, he wrote an extremely interesting appreciation;¹ he compared him with Trousseau (1801–67), whose “nature, if not more ardent, was more eager and effusive. Chareot, no less ardent, hungered and thirsted for knowledge with a more covert fire, and showed the intensity of it rather in his incessant labour and keenness of observation than in disputation or in formal exposition, admirable expositor as he was. Charcot’s indifference, the breadth and equalness of his comprehension, had a quality almost Olympian, and one could read in that wide brow and powerful face a staidness which preserved him from oscillations of opinion, and from the infection of fashions. Undisturbed by remonstrance or ridicule, unshaken by the giddy agitation of the mesmerists, heedless of the flatteries of the gossips, Charcot steadily pursued his investigations in hysteria and other neuroses as if the Salpêtrière and himself were in Saturn.” The following story was given as characteristic: “One morning Chareot called for me at my hotel in a brougham and pair of horses which, even to an English eye, were flawless. We drove to the Salpêtrière, and had been in the wards but a short time when a seared porter entered, bearing in his arms books and papers tattered and torn, a fractured stethoscope, a battered umbrella or two, and the like debris. We learned that the horses, finding, no doubt, a court of that hospital very dull, had taken to scampering around it, forgetting to allow for the carriage or even for themselves. Chareot inquired anxiously for the coachman, for he was *bon garçon*,

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1893, ii. 496.

1893 and on hearing that he was safe, proceeded imperturbably with a demonstration of some cases of Menière's disease."

On October 2 he revisited Leeds to deliver the opening address of the winter session in connection with the Medical Department of the Yorkshire College, of which he had been a Governor since its foundation in 1874, and during that period had made donations amounting to £455. In this address he referred to its approaching absorption by the Victoria University, and laid stress on the duty of universities to give a liberal education. This was the third time he opened the winter session at Leeds, the two previous introductory addresses being in 1871 and 1883, when he was President of the Medical School. As it was nearly thirty years since he first became connected with the School he naturally was reminiscient and praised famous men: thus while speaking of the surgical eminence of the Heys and the Teales he said that Dr. Charles Chadwick "was the first physician whose scientific attainments and force of character made a great place for modern medicine in this county".

1894

As already mentioned, he had many artistic leanings and was early attracted to music. Under the heading of "Music, Rhythm, and Measure",¹ he wrote a letter on February 8 pointing out that the history of Greek dancing illustrated the close relation between muscular movement and rhythm, and indeed lent force to the argument that music had its origin

¹ *Nature*, London, 1893-94, xlix. 340.

in muscular movement. On March 1 the Allbutts 1894 and Miss Margaret England left England, stopping at Avignon on the way to Marscilles, where they took a boat to Athens. Allbutt was an ordinary member of the Hellenic Society, and from 1891-92 to 1895-96 was on the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens, which at that time shouldered a heavy responsibility; his presence on this comparatively small committee was of signal service as showing that the humanities appealed to men eminent in other directions. In 1895 there was a meeting in St. James's Palace with the Prince of Wales in the chair, and in the same year, in answer to a monster petition, a Government grant of £500 a year was secured. After this Allbutt retired. On their way back from the meeting at Athens the Allbutts stopped at Smyrna, Constantinople, Buda-Pest, Vienna, Nuremberg, and Ratisbon.

At a meeting of the Eastern Counties Branch of the British Medical Association at Yarmouth in June he brought forward for the first time his conception that angina pectoris is due to disease of the first part of the aorta, and not of the coronary arteries or myocardium. This was an entirely original view on his part, and it was not until May 1908, when reading in Sir William Osler's library at Oxford, that he found that seventy-one years previously Dominie Corrigan¹ had stated that "inflammation of the lining membrane of the mouth of the aorta is capable of producing the group of symptoms to which we give the name of angina pectoris". It is rather remarkable that in the autumn of this same year Allbutt wrote his first paper (read to the Hunterian

¹ *Dublin Journ. Med. Sc.*, 1837, xii. 243.

1894 Society on February 27, 1895) on hyperpiesia, or, as he first termed it, senile plethora; this condition of unduly high blood-pressure not due to renal disease or arteriosclerosis is now generally accepted and, especially in America, is often called essential hypertension. These two conceptions, namely, of the aortic origin of angina pectoris and of hyperpiesia, are two outstanding and the best known of Allbutt's many contributions in connection with the cardio-vascular system.

After taking up the position as Regius Professor at Cambridge he did valuable public service in steadying and directing lay opinion by letters to "The Times" on subjects on which he was specially able to speak. One of the earliest occasions on which he did this was in the autumn of this year. At the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Bristol the Section of Psychology, presided over by the late Dr. G. F. Blandford, discussed the subject of the eriminal responsibility of the insane, and unanimously passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting the present law relating to the defence of insanity in eriminal cases, as laid down by the judges in 1843, is not in accord with modern medical science, and should be reconsidered". This was followed by a leading article two days later in "The Times" (August 4) and by a somewhat animated correspondence in its columns in which G. Pitt-Lewis, C. A. Mercier, who had also expressed their opinions at the meeting, and others, joined. In "The Times" of September 1, Allbutt, with the authority of a late Commissioner, wrote a long letter which, as a leading article of the same date commented upon it, he supplemented by a second on

September 4. In his first letter he remarked: "No good, 1894 but much harm rather, will result from that girding of one profession at another of which we have seen too much in recent correspondence. Pedantry is not confined to the Profession of Medicine. Nay, in its greater dependence on authority, the Profession of Law may be said to be even more open to that error."

On December 19 he published a post-graduate clinical demonstration¹ given in London and dealing first with a man nominally 59 years old, but as a matter of fact, a very old man of 75 or 80, for "in Medicine we do not count the ages of people by the revolutions of the earth around the sun, but we measure them by the revolutions of their own morbid processes". In connection with this patient suffering from cardio-arterial disease, he went on: "It is the commonest thing in the world for young people to come to us with some anxiety, saying that they have pain in the region of the heart, but in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred it is of no serious import; but when a man in later life, suffering from cardio-arterial degeneration, complains of pain in the prae-cordial region, we must look at it quite differently". Some cases of nervous diseases were then shown, and in connection with one of tabes dorsalis he pointed out that this was a better name than locomotor ataxia, which was a symptom common to other diseases; and that for brevity he often called the absence of knee-jerk "knee-stop", and the Argyll Robertson pupil "light-stop". While stating that syphilis is a very common cause, he considered that this was not true in perhaps ten per cent of the cases.

¹ *Clin. Journ.*, London, 1893-94, v. 117.

1894 He reviewed¹ three volumes of Rudolf Robert's *Historical Studies* in the *Classical Review*, and for the rest of his life, as will be seen, frequently contributed to its pages notices of new editions of classical works, especially those of Hippocrates and Galen, and of critical studies on them, usually by German authorities. Many of these articles were of the nature of essay-reviews, thus recalling his work for the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* in the 'sixties and early 'seventies of the last century.

1895

The *System of Medicine* was now actively under way, but in spite of its demands on his time he was ever active in other directions. On February 27 he gave a Hunterian Lecture before the Hunterian Society of London on the subject of "Senile Plethora, or High Arterial Pressure in Elderly Persons", already referred to, which afterwards much expanded has, under the name of hyperpiesia, been definitely associated with his name. In this address, based on material collected between 1870 and 1889, he suggested the name hyperpiesia instead of senile plethora, because the condition is not necessarily one of senility. In this year the Cambridge Medical Society, consisting of men practising in and around the town and to be distinguished from the undergraduates' Medical Society, started after the War, in which he was also active, elected Allbutt as their President, an office which he filled with great regularity for two years. This Society was started in 1880, and his predecessor, Sir George Paget, was naturally the first

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1894, viii. 309.

President. To the lay press he contributed a popular 1895 article on "Nervous Diseases and Modern Life,"¹ which must have been much in his mind as allied to his articles on neuroses of the stomach, functional disease of the heart, and neurasthenia in forthcoming volumes of his *System*. On March 5 he went abroad with his wife, Miss Margaret England, and Miss Lucy Lockwood, the daughter of their friend Sir Frank Lockwood, then Solicitor-General, and passing through the Riviera to Rome, visited many cities in Italy, such as Pisa, Assisi, Florence, and Bologna, where picture galleries gave his artistic leanings much satisfaction, before returning to Cambridge and the summer time. A summer course for medical post-graduates at Cambridge occupied his attention, and for this purpose the science laboratories were made available, a plan which, with the assistance of the late Professor Sir Michael Foster, was successfully repeated in 1899. The British Medical Association met in London under the presidency of Sir J. Russell Reynolds, President of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and Allbutt joined in the discussion, introduced by Dr. (later Sir) Richard Douglas Powell in the Section of Medicine on "Acute Lobar or Croupous Pneumonia, its Etiology, Pathology, and Treatment".

1896

The burning question of degrees for women was agitating Oxford and Cambridge at this time. On February 17, four memorials in favour of this concession came before the Senate at Cambridge; one was signed by 2088 members of the Senate, another

¹ *Contemporary Rev.*, 1895, lxvii. 210-31.

1896 by 1172 students of Newnham and Girton, a third by 164 head-mistresses of endowed and preparatory schools for girls, and the fourth consisted of signatures collected by the late Miss Emily Davies. There was considerable discussion in the first place whether or not the question should be submitted to a syndicate for a report; in this Allbutt joined, and was erroneously quoted as saying that if women were admitted as members of the University, their number in ten years' time would amount to a thousand. The appointment of a syndicate nominated in March and containing the names of Michael Foster and Allbutt was non-placeted; but on June 4 a syndicate with a different personnel was approved; this syndicate reported on March 1 of the following year, and recommended that the University should confer by diploma the title of the degrees of B.A., M.A., Sc.D., and Litt.D. on women who have passed a final tripos examination and kept nine terms. This gave rise to a long-drawn-out discussion, which occupies many pages of the *Reporter*, and extended over several days (March 13, 15, and 16). Allbutt, quoting his experience of the Victoria University, which at that time included the Yorkshire College at Leeds, said that he was opposed to a mixed University. This was followed by a fly-sheet warfare, in which he took part, both collectively in opposing the recommendations of the syndicate, and personally in defending the accuracy of his statements about the position of women in the Victoria University, which had been vigorously challenged by the late R. D. Roberts. Eventually the recommendations of the syndicate were rejected on May 21, 1897. This controversial problem of the relation of women students to the

University was again much debated in 1920 and 1896 1921; Allbutt then signed a memorial in favour of a compromise between the two sides, but eventually, on October 20, 1921, the compromise proposal to admit women to limited membership of the University was defeated, and it was agreed that women should have titular degrees conferred by diploma, but should be excluded from membership of the University.

The question of examinations in pharmacology was actively debated in the medical press as a result of the decision of the Royal College of Physicians of London to drop this subject from the final examination in medicine of the Conjoint Examining Board of England and Wales. In April, Allbutt, together with Professor J. B. Bradbury and Dr. (later Sir) Donald MacAlister, wrote a long letter expostulating with this decision, and stating that "there was not any present probability that the University of Cambridge would wander into this error". This correspondence,¹ which Allbutt carried on without his colleagues, continued until the editorial closure stepped in. It may be mentioned that pharmacology with pathology are still included in the final examination in medicine for the Cambridge M.B. In June, together with Sir George Humphry, Michael Foster, Donald MacAlister, and others interested in the scientific teaching of the University, he appealed to the Senate to purchase two extensive building sites. On November 21, in a discussion in the Senate House, he drew attention to the bad state of the building in which the School of Medicine and the Pathological Museum were lodged, and on December 7,

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1896, i. 1120, 1236, 1534.

1896 in a fly-sheet gave the further information that the greater part of the building was infested with dry rot.

On October 5 he read before the Haekney Branch of the British Medical Association a paper on albuminuria in pregnancy,¹ which created a good deal of interest, as is shown by an article entitled "Some Thoughts suggested by Dr. Allbutt's paper upon Albuminuria and Pregnancy" by the late Dr. Lovell Drage,² and was much in advance of its time, as the following letter, written more than twenty years later by the late Dr. Amand Routh, under the date of February 15, 1918, goes to prove:

DEAR SIR CLIFFORD—Reading your address now for the first time I am surprised that in 1897 you were able to do so much towards proving that toxins were present often in the blood of gravid women and were often the causes of kidney mischief and of eclampsia. Your remark that "the placenta probably also has some protective functions" is (in 1897) prophetic in a remarkable manner, as is the dictum that "persistent vomiting in pregnancy is evidence of a circulating toxin and is not of nervous origin". . . . Your view as to the need of ending pregnancy in toxic cases is fully confirmed to-day by our knowledge that after expulsion or even death of the child, chorionic ferments and their derivatives cease to be generated. That the brewing of an anti-substance in a pregnant woman in a first pregnancy helps to safeguard her in subsequent ones, is another valuable suggestion made by you, which I think is now fully confirmed, as partly explaining the reduced tendency to toxæmia in subsequent pregnancies. What a pity your paper was not better known to obstetricians. . . . If you had been an obstetric physician we should know much more about pregnancy toxæmias than we now do.

¹ *Lancet*, 1897, i. 579.

² *Ibid.*, 1897, i. 875.

After Sir George Humphry's death on September 24 the question of his successor in the chair of surgery arose and awoke a fly-sheet warfare. The General Board of Studies recommended that the professorship should be suspended for a year. At this time the Regius Professor of Physic had not any right to utilize the clinical material in Addenbrooke's Hospital, and a new Professor of Surgery, unless previously on the staff of Addenbrooke's Hospital, would have been in the same plight. On December 6 a fly-sheet signed by Cambridge men who were teachers in the Medical Schools of Cambridge and London respectfully submitted that as "no Professor of Surgery can be efficient as an authority on Surgery unless he is on the staff of a hospital and in full charge of patients, the best interests of medical study in the University would be furthered by postponing the final appointment of a Professor of Surgery until such an arrangement has been made as shall place the Professor on the staff of a hospital and in full charge of patients". In the meanwhile a number of surgeons in London had been approached as possible candidates or consulted about the position of a Professor of Surgery without beds of his own, and the almost universal opinion was that such a position was impossible. Allbutt, who was in this delicate position and thus able to speak from experience, was obliged to take part in the discussion. Eventually the Professorship of Surgery was suspended, but was re-established by a Grace of the Senate on June 11, 1903, when the late Howard Marsh (1839-1915), consulting surgeon, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, was elected. After Marsh's death the chair remained vacant until June 4, 1921, when

1896 the professorship was discontinued by a Grace confirming a report of the Council of the Senate.

In the autumn he reviewed¹ Max Wellmann's *Die pneumatische Schule*, a subject on which he had much to say in his FitzPatrick Lectures before the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1910.

1897

On March 22 Allbutt attended a meeting of the Medical Society of London at which the late Dr. T. D. Savill read a paper on the pathology and treatment of senile decay, chiefly based on 409 cases of death in persons over sixty years of age during the seven years that he had been Medical Superintendent of the Paddington Infirmary. Stress was laid on high arterial tension due to hypertrophy of the muscular coats of the arteries (hypermyotrophy) and independent of kidney disease. Allbutt,² who could not agree that long life necessarily causes arterial disease, described the condition of high arterial blood-pressure in advancing years without kidney disease, which in 1895 he had called "senile plethora", or preferably hyperpiesia. He accepted the hypertrophy of the arterial muscular coats, and suggested that this, as long as atheroma or other degenerative change did not supervene, protected the cerebral arteries from the formation of miliary aneurysms, and thus helped to explain why these patients, though not uncommonly subject to apoplectiform attacks, rarely had cerebral hæmorrhage. He protested against the use of "pulse tension" and "blood

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1896, x, 346.

² *Trans. Med. Soc. London*, 1897, xx, 272-73.

tension", as the word "tension" cannot properly be applied to the blood or a wave of blood. In a letter¹ to the medical press he regretted that Savill's paper had not attracted more attention and discussion. His activities at Cambridge in connection with the titles of degrees for women during the early part of this year have been mentioned above (*vide* p. 130). 1897

In the summer, Allbutt, as President of the Cambridgeshire Branch, delivered at the combined meeting with the East Anglian and South Midland Branches of the British Medical Association an address on the relative importance of theory and of practice in the art of medicine.² In a broad-minded manner and with much prevision he pleaded for more communication between the practical man and the "contemplative" man of abstract speculation, the experimenter absorbed in his single desire to wrest from Nature her secrets. He deplored the divorce of the workers in an art from the thinkers, for practice advances in efficiency by adopting the new knowledge provided by the man of theory. As in morals, so in medicine, practical precepts serve for a time, but must be continually enlarged as our conceptions widen. Medicine depends upon theoretical advances, not in physiology only, but in all sciences.

In July he wrote a strong letter to "The Times" on the needs of Cambridge University, saying: "The School of Medicine is the largest in numbers in England; yet for the purposes of this faculty a poor and utterly insufficient building was put up thus cheaply a hundred years ago". On August 3, with

¹ *Lancet*, 1897, i. 1235.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1897, ii. 197; also in abstract, *Nature*, 1897, lvi. 332.

1897 his wife and her niece, Miss Margaret England, he left England to represent Cambridge at the International Congress of Medicine (August 19-26) at Moscow, where they stayed with Prince Pierre Galitzin and his daughter. On the way there they stopped at Bayreuth, and on the return journey saw Stockholm, Christiania (Oslo), and Amsterdam.

At the end of November he was one of a number of teachers who, having doubts as to the advisability of retaining the Additional Subjects of the Previous Examination, requested the Council of the Senate to afford an opportunity for discussion of the matter, whether by the appointment of a Syndicate or otherwise.

Four German books dealing with the works of Hippocrates were reviewed by him in a comprehensive article¹ during this year.

1898

The Classical Review for February contained a review² by him of J. F. Payne's Harveian Oration on "Harvey and Galen" given on the previous October 19 at the Royal College of Physicians of London. On March 4 he addressed the Cambridge Medical Society on the pathogeny of angina pectoris, a subject on which he was later in the year to lecture at San Francisco. In June, on behalf of the Special Board for Medicine he appealed for £20,000 to build the present Medical School in Downing Street, and set a notable example by subscribing £250. At a meeting of Cambridge medical graduates held in March in London most cordial support had been given to the scheme.

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1897, xi. 162.

² *Ibid.*, 1898, xii. 52-54.

On June 29, with his wife and Miss Margaret Eng- 1898
land, he left Cambridge and crossed from Liverpool
to America, as he had accepted the invitation to give
at the Cooper Medical College, San Francisco, the
Lane Lectures, financed by Dr. Levi Cooper Lane,
who also founded the Cooper Medical College, which
in 1910, together with the Levi Cooper Lane Library,
was transferred to Stanford University. On the way
across America they visited Salt Lake City, Denver,
and Colorado Springs. In July the ten Lane Lectures
on the cardio-vascular system were delivered; some of
them were published¹ two years later, and dealt with
cardiac physics, diseases of arteries, senile arterial
plethora or hyperpiesia, as he now preferred to call
the condition, and angina pectoris (repeated at a
meeting of the Leamington Medical Society in Nov-
ember 1899). A lecture given on "Mechanical Strain
of the Heart" was not published, as it had just ap-
peared in his *System of Medicine* (1898, v. 841-855).
The material of these lectures was intended to be
expanded into a treatise of cardio-vascular diseases;
those on angina pectoris and arterial diseases were
embodied in his *Diseases of the Arteries, including
Angina Pectoris*, in two volumes published in 1915.
On July 26 they left San Francisco for an extended
tour, taking this opportunity of visiting Honolulu
and Japan; on the last two days of the nineteen days'
voyage to Yokohama they came into the tail of a
typhoon, but fortunately without any serious trouble.

After spending four weeks in Japan they returned
to the United States to fulfil a number of engage-
ments; after visiting Chicago and Niagara they

¹ *Phila. Med. Journ.*, 1900, v. 212-22, 578-82, 617-31, 859-62,
911-14, 1371-74, 1417-19, 1464-68.

1898 reached Toronto on October 8, being looked after by Judge Featherston Osler, the elder brother of Sir William, and two days later went on to stay with J. G. Adami, who since 1892 had been Strathcona Professor of Pathology at McGill University, Montreal, where Allbutt gave a lecture at the University, and much enjoyed seeing Sir William van Horn's collections of Chinese pottery and Japanese tea jars, and of pictures. Quebec and Boston, Mass., naturally including Harvard University, were other stopping, if not resting, places in their pilgrimage, and on October 17 they reached Baltimore. Dr. (later Sir William) Osler was away recuperating from a recent attack of pneumonia, but they stayed in his house and were hospitably looked after by Professor W. H. Welch and others during what must have been a much-needed freedom from constant travelling.

In his lecture on "Medicine in the Nineteenth Century", delivered before the Johns Hopkins University on October 17, 1898, he begins: "Were we asked to describe in a phrase the tendency which distinguishes our age, it might be replied that it is the study of origins. In the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century, for example, men's minds were fixed for the most part on the validity of dialectic, were more bent upon securing mental surefootedness and sharp true weapons of thought than upon the verification of premises." Later he points out that "the study of origins, then, is not only the new method of modern criticism, of modern history, of modern anthropology, of our reading of the evolution of the universe itself from elements which even themselves are falling under the same analytic inquiry, but the study of origins is leading to a revolution in

our conception of therapeutics, as of all these other studies; a revolution which as yet we have not fully understood". 1898

On October 20 he lectured on arterial diseases to students and medical practitioners at the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, and on the following day gave an address on the treatment of arteriosclerosis at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. From there the party journeyed to New York, where they saw Dr. J. S. Billings (1838–1913), who had just been appointed Director of the New York Public Library, after having the previous year retired from the Library of the Surgeon-General of the United States Army, which, together with its catalogue and the *Index Medicus*, he had created.

1899

On January 31 a meeting was held at Devonshire House under the chairmanship of the Chancellor, the Duke of Devonshire, to inaugurate the Cambridge University Association, the object of which was to assist the University in making further provisions for its financial needs. The Chancellor spoke first and, believing that example was better than precept, announced that he proposed to contribute £10,000 to the Endowment Fund of the University. He was followed by the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Alex Hill), Professor R. C. Jebb, the Master of Trinity (Reverend H. M. Butler), the Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster), Professors Clifford Allbutt and Ewing. Allbutt concluded his appeal as follows: "I have just returned from the United States, and I am sure we have lost three good generations in England. I found

1899 those people so quick that the moment they see there is new knowledge to be made they realize the importance of making it quickly, and they are ready to endow it. A professor said: 'We have only to go up and down in the street to get any money we want if we are able to show them we are going to make new knowledge'. That is the spirit we want in this country, and it will, I trust, be fostered by the efforts of this Association." As a result of the meeting an Executive Committee of fourteen Cambridge men, including Allbutt, was appointed.

At the *Comitia Verna* on February 14 the degree of M.D. *honoris causa* was conferred upon him at Trinity College, Dublin, and on the same day he was made an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland. On April 22 he was at Liverpool when Lord Lister opened the School of Tropical Medicine, and on July 1 the honorary degree of D.Sc. was conferred upon him by the Victoria University of Manchester. During the first few days of August he was in Portsmouth, and active at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association; in the Section of Medicine he opened a discussion on "The Prevention and Remedial Treatment of Tuberculosis",¹ and drew particular attention to Birch-Hirschfeld's researches on the primary site of tuberculous infection in the lungs as shown by photographs of his fusible metal casts of the bronchi; he had visited Leipzig to make himself thoroughly acquainted with Birch-Hirschfeld's work. The debate was carried on by the late Sir William Broadbent, the late Sir Richard Douglas Powell, and Professor (later Sir) William Osler of the Johns Hopkins Hospi-

¹ Allbutt, T. C., *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1899, ii. 1149.

tal. In the Section of Pharmacology and Therapeutics 1899 he discussed the late Sir Lauder Brunton's paper on the treatment of headaches, and in the Section of Pathology spoke in the course of a long debate which followed the paper by the late Dr. J. W. Washbourn on "The Pathology of Endocarditis". In August the Oslers paid a visit to Cambridge, and stayed with the Allbutts.

On August 30 Miss Margaret England was married at St. Michael's Church, Headingley, near Leeds, by the vicar, Canon Wood, a great friend of the Allbutts, to the Reverend Harry Stovell Cronin, B.D. (1866–1923), Fellow, Dean, and Librarian of Trinity Hall, who edited the *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus* (1899) and the *Rogeri Dymmock Liber* (1922, Wycliff Society). As they lived at Willowbrook in Chaucer Road, just opposite to St. Radegunds, there was no separation from those who had so long been her parents in all but name. Of this marriage there was one son, Clifford Walter, born in 1900, who on September 6, 1924, married at Barrington, near Cambridge, Margaret, daughter of the late Colonel Bendyshe, a direct descendant of Nelson; of their two children, one is a boy, Richard Clifford, so that the name of the Regius Professor is perpetuated. After the marriage the Allbutts spent some time at Whitby. At the beginning of the winter session he addressed the Medical Society of University College, London, on the conception of disease, a favourite topic of his. Having been appointed in the summer an Examiner in Medicine for the Licence by the Royal College of Physicians, he had to be in London for the quarterly examinations in October, January, April, and July, each of which occupied about ten days, and so added considerably

1899 to his labours. The usual term of office for examiners living in London is four years, but country Fellows of the College often hold office for a shorter time, and Allbutt did not continue it for more than a year. On November 14 he took part in the discussion on Dr. (later Sir) J. Kingston Fowler's paper on the open-air treatment of tuberculosis at the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, and drew a distinction between fresh air and draughts, a subject on which his open-window treatment of typhus fever in 1865-66 enabled him to speak as one with the authority of experience.

At this time the Appointments Board, originally called the Cambridge Appointments Association, was started in order to facilitate the employment of members of the University, after the completion of their undergraduate course, in the various professions and occupations for which their University training has fitted them. In the initiation of this undertaking, which has proved so eminently successful, Allbutt was one of the promoters, and subsequently signed a fly-sheet in answer to one opposing its support by the University.

In December, on the invitation of Commendatore Florio, a wealthy and generous citizen of Palermo, Allbutt, together with Patrick Manson, Lauder Brunton, G. A. Gibson, Malcolm Morris, St. Clair Thomson, Walter B. Foster (afterwards Lord Ilkerton), and others, making up a party of about twenty, were conducted from Charing Cross first to Rome to see the work done there on malaria, and then to Palermo to inspect a sanatorium for the tuberculous which Commendatore Florio had erected under the direction of the physician-in-chief, Professor Cervello,

of the University of Palermo. In Rome they stayed 1899 for some days, meeting Professors Grassi, Bignami, Celli, and Bastianelli, and seeing two experimental farms in the Campagna, one screened against mosquitoes, where there was not any malaria, the other unprotected and with malaria. At Palermo the sanatorium—the Villa Igiea—was a veritable palace, on the edge of the sea cliffs, conducted on the most up-to-date principles. Under the title of “An Occasional Correspondent” Allbutt contributed an account of this pleasant as well as instructive visit to “The Times” on his return in the new year.

1900

During the first half of the year the preparation of the Harveian Oration must have occupied most of his time. The South African war, which broke out in the previous October, made it eminently opportune to take steps to increase largely the establishment of the University Volunteer Battalion, then limited by regulation to six companies, already standing at more than their full strength. Accordingly, together with fourteen heads of Colleges and three other Regius Professors, Allbutt advocated this change. On March 12 he issued a fly-sheet standing up for the financial needs of the Medical School and protesting against a decision of the Council of the Senate about the monetary grant made without any previous consultation with him as the official head of the Faculty of Medicine, especially as the needs of the Medical School for proper buildings were so urgent, as he proceeded to show. In the *Cambridge Appointments Gazette* for June 1 he gave some advice

1900 to medical students, pointing out that a University degree should signify something more than practical skill. While agreeing that clinical work should be done elsewhere, in a more populous centre, such as London, he considered that the teaching of pathology should be given in Cambridge. The subject of thesis writing was also touched upon.

To the "A Century's Retrospect of Medicine" (1800-1900) in the *British Medical Journal* he made a contribution on "Medicine in 1800",¹ and dwelt particularly on the work and views of William Cullen (1712-90), the author of an authoritative text-book on diagnosis and treatment, as a monument of that time, and as having dethroned "disease" and set up "the patient", thus distrusting systems and recognizing that the only real factor was the individual. He attended the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Ipswich and took part in the discussion on "Influenza as it affects the Nervous System", introduced by Dr. Judson Bury of Manchester.

On October 1 he gave the introductory address at the Middlesex Hospital on "Abstractions and Facts in Medicine", and spoke of the far greater future of medicine as a result of the work to be done by the young, who must be guided by their teachers between the extremes of reverence and contempt for authority and tradition. While tradition must not be handled with too much respect, there was room not only for positive knowledge and the scientific habit of mind, but also for a large collection of approximate empirical truths or maxims, for a certain shrewdness and dexterity in the use of such imperfect means, and for some insight into men and

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1900, ii. 990.

society. He urged the importance of post-graduate 1900 study, and expressed the hope that some hospital would devote its entire teaching energies to this object. In conclusion, he urged the establishment of clinical laboratories in all hospitals, not only those associated with medical schools, so that such a laboratory in a county hospital should assist all the private practitioners in the district. More observations of disease and morbid anatomy had, he said, almost reached their limit, and it was important to turn to the detection of morbid processes in their earliest stage, so as to arrest them there and then. On the death of Sir Henry W. Acland on October 16, who as Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford (1857-94) had been his corresponding colleague for two years, he wrote a graceful appreciation,¹ based on thirty years' acquaintance, setting out his idealism and charm.

On October 18, St. Luke's day, he gave the Harveian Oration at the Royal College of Physicians of London at the request of the President, the late Sir William Church (1837-1928), to whom it was dedicated. This annual Oration was founded by William Harvey in 1656 with definite directions that the Orator should commemorate the benefactors, exhort the Fellows and Members "to search and study out the secrets of Nature by way of experiment, and also for the honour of the profession to continue in mutual love and affection among themselves". In addition, the Orators have specially commemorated Harvey's great discovery, and as the theme has been so often dealt with, the task becomes increasingly difficult every year. In his, the 234th,

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1900, ii. 1286.

- 1900 Oration, Allbutt took as his subject "Science and Medieval Thought", for, as he modestly wrote: "On the philosophy of the Middle Ages, and on its relation to the era of positive science of which Harvey was perhaps the chief pioneer, there lay in a drawer of my cabinet the confused and occasional notes of many years . . . and I trust some brief essay thereon may have a temporary service". This subject had indeed occupied his mind since 1863, when his friend Thomas Marshall of Leeds awoke his interest in the life and works of Roger Bacon. As in several of his other addresses, this one contained much more than could be delivered in the hour, and was published in expanded form as a book¹ with the title given above after its appearance in an abbreviated form as "The Physiological Darkness before Harvey's Time", in the medical journals.² In the course of this polished discourse, adorned with a number of scholarly footnotes and an appendix on astrology, he touched on the artificial divorce of surgery from physie, a subject which he subsequently treated more fully in his address on "The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery" at St. Louis in 1904.

1901

At a meeting on January 31 of the British Bacteriological and Climatological Society, which was founded in 1895 and in 1907 became a section of the Royal Society of Medicine, Allbutt opened a dis-

¹ *Science and Medieval Thought*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 116, 1901.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1900, ii. 1271; *Lancet*, 1900, ii. 1179; and *Nature*, 1900, lxii. 630 ("Aspects of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood").

cussion on anaemia and its treatment,¹ and drew 1901 attention to the then recent work of Dr. J. S. Haldane and Professor J. Lorrain Smith, showing that in all anaemias there was an increase in the blood mass. This was familiar ground to him, as in his *System of Medicine* he wrote the article on chlorosis which has since become such a rare disease.

On June 26 he gave away the prizes at the Medical School of Charing Cross Hospital, and in the course of his address mentioned that when a boy he had a small laboratory in his home in which he performed experiments on rats to satisfy his curiosity; quoting Hobbes, he insisted on the stimulating value of this inquiring mental feature which should not, as was too often the case, be checked in childhood. In July he published a paper on the spread of infection by the urine of men convalescent from typhoid fever,² a subject of special topical interest on account of the war in South Africa and the return of troops to this country. Later in this month the Congress on Tuberculosis met in London, at which Robert Koch made the startling pronouncement that the human and the bovine forms of the bacillus of tuberculosis were absolutely distinct species, and that therefore there was little or no danger of the transmission of the infection by milk from cattle to man; on July 27, in Section II., on the Medical Aspects including Climatology and Sanatoriums, Allbutt,³ who with Sims Woodhead represented the University of Cambridge, opened a discussion on sanatoriums in which Sir James Fowler, the late Sir Hermann Weber, and Sir R. Philip took part. He then went on to the

¹ *Lancet*, 1901, i. 479.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1901, ii. 74.

³ *Lancet*, 1901, ii. 1255.

1901 annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Cheltenham, where he spoke in two discussions,¹ on the late Dr. J. W. Washbourn's paper, "Pathological Notes from South Africa", and on the late Dr. Richard Caton's method of arresting endocarditis. In *The Speaker* he reviewed "The Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget".

On November 11, at the close of a controversy in the columns of "The Times" on the subject of "Peat Reek and Harris Tweed" between Sir James Crichton-Browne and Mr. Winston Churchill and others, he wrote to Sir James the following note in a light vein, which shows that he was then laid low by one of the several accidents that befell him when bicycling or tricycling up to the end of his life in and around Cambridge:

If you happen to know one J.C.B. will you tell him in Joe Gargery's words "Wot larks!" Every time J.C.B. seemed to be nailed he got his left straight on his adversary's nose! "The Times" is quite flat now the fight is over. Excuse this—not to be called even a "serawl". Cycling near home a week ago, a passing waggoner switched his whip thong about the handle-bar of my bicycle, when different velocities and a good "side" came into play. I write now on my back, have got over my shaking and bruises, but have a left knee nearly as big as my head.

In December he contributed a tribute to the obituary notice² of Dr. William Dobie (1834–1901) of Keighley.

1902

In January and February he published two articles on heart affections; in the first, on hyper-

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1901, ii. 700, 1051.

² *Ibid.*, 1901, ii. 1776,

trophy and dilatation of the heart,¹ he mentioned 1902 that alcoholic dilatation, described by Graham Steell in 1893, had been recognized in Leeds in the 'seventies; he wrote the other, on cardiac arrhythmia,² on account of the paucity in English text-books of any discussion about the causation, and because the opinions, when expressed, did not fully agree with the conclusions he had arrived at; in fact, for two or three years he had intended to publish a few facts and reflections on the subject based on clinical experience and interpreted by the results of physiological research. On February 3 "The Times" printed a letter from him emphasizing the view, expressed in a letter in the previous November, that the neglect of the Army Medical Service by university students was mainly due to the lack of scientific spirit and method in the service. At this time the war in South Africa was drawing to a close and the Minister for War, Mr. St. J. Brodrick (later the Earl of Midleton), was engaged on the reorganization of the Royal Army Medical Corps. Later in the year, with the other examiners in the Indian Medical Service, he wrote a letter³ defending the method of examination which had been criticized in an annotation in the *British Medical Journal*.

On May 13 he was at Oxford to deliver before the University Junior Scientific Society the ninth Robert Boyle Lecture on "The Rise of the Experimental Method in Oxford".⁴ He showed that Roger Bacon admittedly owed much to a hermit-like individual,

¹ *Practitioner*, London, 1902, lxviii. 11-27.

² *Med. Chron.*, Manchester, 1904, 4 ser., ii. 321-28.

³ Allbutt and others, *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1902, ii. 1930.

⁴ Published in pamphlet form (pp. 53) by Henry Froude; abstract in *Nature*, London, 1902, lxvi. 90-91.

1902 Peter Peregrinus, in the thirteenth century, about whom so little was accurately known that his identity had been divided among three hypothetical persons, Peter of Maharecourt, Peter of Maricourt, and Peter of Méricourt, very probably variations of the name of the same place. After delving in the Cambridge University Library, Allbutt had come to the conclusion that these three Peters were one man, before he learnt from Charles' treatise on Roger Bacon that that author had done likewise in 1861. In Montague Murray's third and last edition of Quain's *Dictionary of Medicine* he revised his long article on diseases of the pleura (pp. 1268-1286), in which he defended his earlier advice not to tap pleuritic effusions unless and until they caused respiratory distress.

In the May term there was considerable discussion on the question whether or not a candidate in the second part of the Natural Sciences Tripos should still be obliged to take a second subject in addition to that in which he might hope to attain a first-class. Among the fly-sheets which appeared was one from Allbutt advising delay and maintenance of the *status quo* until a clearer view of the whole position could be attained. Eventually, however, the change was made, so that a candidate has to take one subject only in the second part of the tripos.

Allbutt was the first to recognize James Mackenzie's outstanding work, *The Study of the Pulse, Arterial, Venous and Hepatic, and of the Heart*, in a generous unsigned review,¹ remarking that "an original seer of solid achievements was at work in the Galilee of Burnley". They were both keenly interested in the new cardiology, and thus had animated dis-

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1902, ii. 250.

cussions in the columns of the medical press; for ex- 1902
ample, in 1911 on the existence of cardiac asthma,
Allbutt deprecating the use of the term, Mackenzie
vigorously, as was his wont, asserting the genuine
nature of the asthmatic seizures as quite distinct from
the ordinary dyspnoea of cardiac failure (*vide* p. 200).
Later, these two warm friends corresponded in public
on the new cardiology in 1917 (*vide* p. 226). On
February 17, 1925, after Mackenzie's death, and only
five days before his own, he wrote, to a friend who
was engaged on an obituary notice of Mackenzie and
had asked for some information: "Mackenzie always
honoured me by saying that by my review in the
British Medical Journal of his book *The Study of the
Pulse* I 'had brought him out'. So far as winning the
toss is concerned, this, I suppose, was true. Mackenzie
was a generous soul and never forgot his friends."

On July 1 he wrote a letter to the *British Medical
Journal*,¹ in the columns of which there had been a
correspondence on the treatment of pulmonary tuber-
culosis by intratracheal injections, politely expressing
regret that in an article in the fifth volume of his
System of Medicine (1898) it had been suggested by
one of his contributors that the method employed by
Dr. Colin Campbell was not devoid of risk. At the end
of July he attended the annual meeting of the British
Medical Association at Manchester under the presi-
deney of the late Mr. Walter Whitehead, and intro-
duced two discussions; on July 30 he opened one in
the Section of Medicine, the President of which was
his friend the late Professor Julius Dreschfeld, on the
causes, diagnosis, and principles of treatment of dila-
tation of the stomach,² a condition in which he had

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1902, ii. 155.

² *Ibid.*, 1902, ii. 1389.

1902 been actively interested since 1869, when he read the pioneer paper of Professor Adolf Kussmaul, to whose recent death on May 28 he referred. As previously mentioned, he read a paper on the subject at the Cork meeting of the British Medical Association in 1879, and wrote the article on it in his *System of Medicine* (1897, iii. 512). In the ensuing discussion the late Sir William Broadbent (1835–1907), a former student of medicine at Owens College, Manchester, and the late Professor J. H. Musser of Philadelphia took part. On the following day he read the opening paper at a discussion in the Section of Psychological Medicine on the relation of neurasthenia to insanity,¹ a subject on which he was specially qualified to speak as a former Commissioner in Lunacy, and more recently as the author of the article on neurasthenia in the eighth volume of his *System* in 1899.

On November 6 he delivered an address on tuberculosis² at Glasgow, in which he advocated sanatorium treatment, and especially one for children in Glasgow. In an interesting manner he dealt with the reproaches which from the time of Plato to the present day have been thrown at the medical reformer for preserving bad stocks and thus counteracting the benefit of the survival of the fittest—by propagating bad stocks. After glancing at what he called the Pelagian point of view (after the British monk Pelagius of the fifth century, who was responsible for the heresy that original sin did not exist), namely, that no stocks are primarily bad, he said: “Do not let us talk of bad stocks till we have done our best with them; for we may discover that it is rather the

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1902, ii. 1208.

² *Practitioner*, London, 1903, lxx. 145.

gardeners than the stocks which are bad"; and concluded: "To lie passive, quoting perverted Darwinism, till, under evil conditions which we have not tried to remove, our children have grown stunted and crooked, and then to grumble about the neglect of the physician to eliminate the unfit, is inhuman". 1902

He reviewed¹ at some length Max Wellmann's *Fragments of Greek Physicians*, and subsequently more briefly the second volume of Kuehlewein's edition of Hippocrates' works, the first volume of which he had reviewed in 1897.

1903

On January 13 he read a paper on the rise of blood-pressure in later life² before the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, and in the introductory paragraph said: "With the pathology of the dead we have made great way; the pathology of the living is hardly begun". The latter phrase was subsequently employed by Sir Berkeley (later Lord) Moynihan³ to describe the information revealed during surgical operations. Allbutt then gave his early experience of taking blood-pressures, and insisted that a raised blood-pressure is not due to arteriosclerosis; he divided "so-called arteriosclerosis" into three kinds, the first common in old people, often hereditary, but not necessarily or usually associated with high blood-pressure, which he called "involutionary", and later in 1907 "decrement"; the second, or mechanical, due to persistent high blood-pressure; and the third the

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1902, xvi. 220-22, 470.

² *Med.-Chir. Trans.*, 1903, lxxxvi. 323-40.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1907, ii. 1381.

1903 toxic, due to lead, alcohol, or syphilis, usually in younger persons, in some of whom the blood-pressure rises, in others not. In picturesque language he then described the condition he called hyperpiesia, or persistent high blood-pressure not secondary to kidney disease, and pleaded for its earlier recognition and treatment. The interest of the subject excited considerable correspondence in the pages of the *Lancet*, in which Sir Richard Douglas Powell, Sir W. Broadbent, and Dr. Harry Campbell took part. Sir Hermann Weber, who had supported his claims for the Regius Professorship in 1892 by writing to Lord Salisbury, and he had a private correspondence about the rise of blood-pressure in later life; on November 21, in the course of a letter discussing the etiology, Allbutt wrote: "As to remoter causes, I am satisfied that over-eating and drinking is efficient; but I meet with not a few persons with rising arterial pressures in later life, whose habits have been temperate or even abstemious. I suppose in them inadequacy of 'katabolism' (often inherent?) amounts to relative excess of intake. There must be (not, I think, a mere superfluity, but) some poison generated; Metchnikoff would say from the colon. This I scarcely take to; it does not explain the effects of mere over-eating (+ alcohol usually), nor the cases in which the process is instituted by mental grief and stress, as I showed twenty-seven years ago, for the allied but different process of 'granular kidney' (*vide* p. 68). I have stood alone for years in proclaiming that in a certain class of cases rise of arterial pressure is the *antecedent*, arterial strain and injury the *consequence*." After this interesting statement of his views he went on to mention that he had been invited to represent Eng-

lish medicine in the following year at the St. Louis 1903 World's Fair and Exposition, and proposed to read a paper on the prevention of apoplexy; as events turned out, he gave one of the two addresses in the Section of Internal Medicine on "The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery to the end of the Sixteenth Century" (*vide* p. 166) and delivered the address on the "Prevention of Apoplexy" at Bristol in January 1905 (*vide* p. 170).

In April he published an essay, previously read to a small private society in Cambridge (The Eranus), consisting of representatives of different departments, who discuss topics arising out of their special subjects, but of more general interest. This account of "A Chair of Medicine in the Fifteenth Century"¹ at the University of Pavia, dealing with the life of Johannes Matheus de Ferrariis de Gradibus, who held the chair from 1432 to 1472, was one of ten papers which in the course of twenty-one years he read before the Society, the others being mainly on ancient medicine, though the first in 1899 was on "The Part of the Intellect in the Fine Arts" and the second in 1901 on "Immunity".

The Diploma in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene was established in Cambridge in this year, an example followed in 1912 by the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in London. The examiners on the first occasion were Sir Patriek Manson, Sir Ronald Ross, and Professor G. H. F. Nuttall.

On June 26 Allbutt gave the Cavendish Lecture at the West London Medico-Chirurgical Society on "Disease of the Ascending Aorta",² and then sug-

¹ *Med. Chron.*, Manchester, 1903, 4 ser., v. 1-15.

² *West London Med.-Chir. Journ.*, 1903, viii. 157-86.

1903 gested that the condition of dilatation of the first part of the aorta should be called Hodgson's disease, after Joseph Hodgson (1788-1869), who described it in 1815. In his account of the physical signs of chronic aortitis he pointed out that they only needed to be looked for, and that "when a chronic aortitis, pursuing for the greater part a painless course, was broken by terms of acuter activity, angina pectoris might come and go with such vicissitude".

From July 7-11 the Royal Sanitary Institute held its twenty-first Congress at Bradford, and as President of Section I, dealing with Sanitary Science and Preventive Medicine, Allbutt gave an address on July 9. In it he expanded the arguments, previously brought forward in his address at Glasgow on tuberculosis, against the view that the activities of medical men and preventive medicine are antagonistic to the survival of the fittest. "The Nottingham Evening Post" of that day came out with a report of the meeting headed "The Survival of the Fittest: Remarkable Statement by Professor Allbutt", and proceeded to put into his mouth the opposite of what he really said: "Professor Clifford Allbutt combated the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest, and urged that the medical profession should cease to mitigate incurable disease, whereby useless lives were prolonged, and the survival of bad stocks promoted". This misrepresentation was not so widely taken up as to create a furore; Allbutt was thus more fortunate than his colleague Sir William Osler, whose farewell address at the Johns Hopkins University in 1905, "The Fixed Period", was broadcasted in the Press as advocating that men of sixty should "retire for a year of contemplation before a peaceful departure

by chloroform", because with a humorous allusion 1903 to his own age (56) he had quoted this from Anthony Trollope's novel *The Fixed Period*. After touching on the vexed question of birth control, Allbutt insisted that "elimination of the unfit by disease is too rough a method of compassing the survival of the fittest, even if the most vigorous of body be regarded as the salt of society", and called upon the Congress "to declare that Public Health would do it better and more permanently than Public Disease can do it".

About this time he was elected consulting physician to the Belgrave Hospital for Children, in which his friend Clinton Dent, surgeon to St. George's Hospital and a past-President (1884-86) of the Alpine Club, took a fatherly interest. In July he supplied the introduction to a symposium on gout in the *Practitioner*,¹ and later in the year recorded a case of that very rare disease myotonia congenita,² originally described in 1876 by the Danish physician Julius Thomsen, a sufferer from it, in whose family it had existed for five generations.

In the autumn he was engaged in a correspondence³ in the *British Medical Journal* with the late Sir Victor Horsley, who had stated in an address to the University of Birmingham "that the strenuous effort of Liverpool to develop its College into a University was resisted by the University of Cambridge". Allbutt answered Horsley's charge in a very spirited style: "Sir Victor Horsley proceeds to impute to me and to Cambridge a motive so base that I feel it a

¹ *Practitioner*, London, 1903, lxxi. 1-5.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1903, ii. 836.

³ *Ibid.*, 1903, ii. 1108, 1308.

1903 shame even to have to repel it, namely, that I opposed the Liverpool Charter on the point that it will compete with Cambridge in the manufacture of a state qualification to practise. I am thankful to say that it has needed the ethical ingenuity of my distinguished surgical critic to introduce such a notion now for the first time into my head."

In October Sir Michael Foster, who in 1870 had come into residence as Praelector of Physiology at Trinity College and in 1883 became the first Professor of Physiology in the University, gave up his chair. On May 1 a letter, signed by Allbutt and many others, was sent to the Vice-Chancellor urging that in consideration of his services to physiology and to the University the statutory power of granting him a pension should be exercised. This application came before the Council of the Senate, who did not agree to present a Grace to the Senate recommending the pension. Accordingly the signatories of the letter got up a Memorial submitting that an extraordinary Professorship should be offered to him and the conditions and stipend settled by the General Board of Studies. This Memorial was violently opposed by the then Downing Professor of Medicine, Dr. P. W. Latham, in a fly-sheet belittling Foster's services to the University on the grounds that over fifty per cent. of the registered medical students at Cambridge never proceed to the degree of M.B., and that the number registered as medical students in the University in 1894 was 138, whereas in October 1903 it was 104.

In December Allbutt took part in the pleasant function of making a presentation to Lord Braybrooke on the occasion of the fiftieth year of his

Mastership of Magdalene College and of his golden wedding. The Mastership of this College, founded in 1542, is in the gift of the holder of the Barony of Braybrooke, as representing the founder, Thomas, Baron Audley of Walden (1488–1544). Of the twenty-nine Masters three have been of the family of the founder, and two of these, Lord Braybrooke (who succeeded to the title in 1902 only, so that he did not appoint himself) and his immediate predecessor, Hon. George Neville-Grenville, each held the Mastership for fifty years. 1903

1904

In 1904 Messrs. Macmillan, who published most of his books, brought out his *Notes on the Composition of Scientific Papers*, which passed into a second edition the following year, and into a third in 1923. The stimulus to provide this guide to the young writer came from his official duty of reading every year some sixty or seventy theses for the degree of M.B., and about twenty-five for that of M.D. A leaflet prepared by the publishers pointed out that "The Regius Professor, who receives no pecuniary profit from this handbook, prepared it for his candidates for M.B. and M.D. degrees in order to save his time and theirs in clerical revision of the theses. He recommends them therefore to use this, or some other such guide to English composition." Cambridge is the only University which demands a thesis for the M.B. degree, and does so because one of the functions of a university is to teach students to think, and of this accomplishment the thesis or essay is the chief evidence. During the keeping of the Act the candidate reads the thesis, or as much of it as the Regius Professor or

1904 his deputy shall direct, and is questioned on its contents; in this way the possibility that it may have been written for him by a commercial "ghost" is at any rate diminished, for one of the ghosts wrote to Sir Clifford and "was good enough to suggest that this old-fashioned custom might well be abolished". Instruction in writing theses does not come within the scope of systematic lectures or teaching, and their construction and composition are often open to criticism. This was especially so with Allbutt, who laid much stress on good English and the correct use of words; so much so indeed that he found much of the time allotted for keeping the Act occupied in dealing with the faulty style at the expense of the discussion of the matter of the theses. Accordingly this useful and in parts amusing handbook was conceived and supplied a very real want. Along with much advice it contained a collection of common errors, and the author made the demure confession that his "quotations are given for the most part without acknowledgement, for obvious reasons". The information and guidance given, on somewhat the same lines as the *King's English* by the brothers Fowler (H. W. and F. G.), may be read with advantage by many besides those about to write theses. On certain words Allbutt had very decided views; thus: "Theory and fact are deplorably abused words. *Theory*, in its proper use, signifies the highest form of knowledge", being admissible in reference to the Newtonian or Darwinian theory. "A fact is something which has occurred; it has no reference whatever to the future. To say that on the 30th of next January Venus will be in conjunction with Jupiter, is not a fact, but a prediction or truth." This hard-worked word is often

employed for "truth", "proposition", "rule", or "axiom". The use of the familiar words "type" and "typical" were also somewhat severely restricted; he had indeed more vigorously expressed his opinion about "that insidiously evil word 'type'" thirty-seven years before¹ by complaining that "its four letters do more harm than the whole of the Calmuck language together, which latter is said, on accumulation of evidence, to be the most abominable language now known to exist". It was therefore just as well that those not accurately acquainted with the approved significance of these words were sometimes advised by their hospital teachers to avoid the possible pitfalls entailed by their appearance in theses. The pedantry of using the Greek and Latin plurals of words taken into common use, for example "asyla" for "asylums", was pointed out, and in finally anticipating that advice may be expected about the use of great prose writers as models, he said: "Imitate no one", but "read to strengthen and enlarge your ideas, your understanding, and your language"; he mentioned a number of authors who might be read with advantage, such as Dryden, Lamb, Goldsmith, John Morley, George Otto Trevelyan, and of the scientific and medical fathers—Peter Mere Latham, Thomas Watson, James Paget, and Michael Foster, the last of whom is known from other and reliable sources to have laid much store on Milton's prose.

It is always interesting to hear how men set about writing a paper or a book; Allbutt, while admitting that every writer has his own method of composition, takes the reader of his *Notes on the Composition of*

¹ *St. George's Hosp. Rep.*, 1867, ii. 187.

1904 *Scientific Papers* into his study and shows him how he first collects in a labelled drawer or large quarto envelope material bearing on the chosen subject in the form of cuttings and abstracts (on slips of paper of the same size); these memoranda may take some time to collect, and in the case of this particular book it is obvious that it must have taken some years to accumulate the pearls extracted from theses. The slips are clipped together according to the sections or chapters of the intended article or book and then arranged in their logical sequence, from which the first draft is made. Usually he found three more drafts necessary before the manuscript was ready for the printer. In the second draft redundant words and repetitions were deleted, necessary changes in the order of sentences and paragraphs made, and further expansion of the argument and corresponding modifications added. In the third draft the composition was still more critically considered; sentences and paragraphs recast, made to run logically and convey one meaning only; and every word, even the definite article, separately weighed. Before undertaking the final revision, which should not be done piecemeal in bits, but cover a considerable stretch so as to get a large survey of its scope, there should be an interval of a week or two, so that the mind may unconsciously meditate on the subject, and the final reading be done with refreshed attention. Lastly, he gives the following advice: "Never compose when tired, nor in the false confidence of tea and late hours. At this hour the composition seems to be beautiful and spontaneous, but it is fairy gold, and in the colder light of the morning it turns to ashes." This certainly sets up a high standard of hard discipline, and many will find

difficulty in obeying the direction not to work late 1904 at night.

With a highly critical taste, he was as careful about his own writings as he would have others be in the choice and use of words; he never spared himself, and his alteration of his articles did not cease with the delivery of the manuscript, as indeed was abundantly manifest in the printer's pulls.

His literary style thus had an easy grace, and was attractive for its refreshing difference from the ordinary run of medical writing and on account of the occasional use of good old words. Just as he was always well groomed in person, so was he equally careful in literary expression, and with a fastidious feeling for words and phrases chose them like an epicure. He had a fine sense of humour, which he used with all the more effect as the occasions were not too frequent. With his broad outlook he saw all sides of a subject and fully discussed them before summing up on debatable questions. The assistance that he most willingly gave to others is shown by the following extract from a letter written by Dr. P. C. Varrier-Jones, who was closely associated with him at the Papworth Village Settlement: "His help in all my papers was, of course, most valuable. Indeed, I do not think I should have written anything without his help. He would add or subtract a word which made all the difference to the sentence, and by so doing made the balance perfect and the sense crystal clear." Allbutt wrote an attractive and characteristic hand, and did his own typewriting.

In a letter to "The Times" of February 3, he said that his opinion, voiced in his previous letters of November 13, 1901, and February 3, 1902, about the

1904 state of the Royal Army Medical Corps, "of the unscientific, nay anti-scientific, tone of the service", had been strengthened by what he had heard from correspondents. This month's *Classical Review* contained a review by him of an edition of Galen's *Libellus de Captionibus*.

The more complete co-ordination of the teaching given by the University and Colleges at Cambridge was then attracting attention, and on February 15 a fly-sheet with certain suggestions and the signatures of Allbutt and many others appeared. On March 1 the new science laboratories and the Medical School in Downing Street, Cambridge, were formally opened by King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra; at the Medical School they were received by the Regius Professor, supported by the Downing Professor of Medicine (J. B. Bradbury), the Professor of Surgery (Howard Marsh), and others. On May 12 he was in Leeds and gave an address on opening a new Public Dispensary erected at a cost of £33,000, and on May 23 he wrote a long letter to the *British Medical Journal*¹ criticizing the editorial comments in that journal on the Government Bill to amend the Lunacy Acts.

At the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Oxford in the last week of July he proposed the vote of thanks to the President, Dr. William Collier, who was a Cambridge graduate, for his address on "The Growth and Development of the Oxford Medical School". This was seconded by Osler, who soon afterwards accepted the Regius Professorship of Medicine at Oxford in succession to Sir John Burdon-Sanderson, who had resigned. At the meeting of the British Association at Cambridge,

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1904, i. 1286-87.

Allbutt¹ took part in the discussion in the Section of 1904 Physiology, of which Professor C. S. Sherrington was President, on "The Relation of Oxidation to Functional Activity", introduced by Sir John Burdon-Sanderson on August 19.

In September he went to America to attend the meeting of the Congress of Arts and Sciences on September 19-25, in connection with the World's Fair and Exposition at St. Louis, Missouri. This Congress, which was largely organized by Münsterberg, the Professor of Psychology at Harvard, who was a very active German agent before the War, was divided into twenty-four Departments, that of Medicine, under the chairmanship of Professor (later Sir) William Osler, consisting of twelve sections. The British readers of addresses in these sections of the Department of Medicine were Allbutt (Internal Medicine), Brunton (Pharmacology), Ronald Ross, then of Liverpool (Preventive Medicine), and Felix Semon (Otology). The medical addresses are contained in the sixth of the twelve volumes giving an account of the Congress. In the Section of Internal Medicine two addresses were given: Professor W. S. Thayer, of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, discussed the internal relations of medicine in his "Problems of Internal Medicine"² on September 22, and traced its progress, mainly during the previous hundred years, throwing out a caution against too early specialization in the medical curriculum at the expense of the humanities and general culture. Allbutt spoke, from the point of view of the outward relations of internal medicine,

¹ *Rep. Brit. Assoc.*, Cambridge, 1904, p. 748.

² *Am. Med.*, 1904, viii. 915-18; *Science*, New York, N.S., xx. 706-15.

1904 on "The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery to the end of the Sixteenth Century",¹ insisting on their artificial separation, which dated from the time of Avicenna, A.D. 1000, and had given rise to two professions, and pointing out that previously medicine had been one and undivided, and surgery not a distinct department of the healing art but an alternative method of treatment. "Physic," he said, "was sterile in proportion to its divorce from Surgery". This appeal for the essential unity of the healing art he illustrated by two comparatively modern instances: "About this time (1864), when indeed few Fellows of the London College of Physicians would condescend even to a digital examination of rectum or uterus, certain of them, concerned with the diseases of women, began to make little operations about the uterus; and, meeting after all with but slight rebuke, they rode on the tide of science and circumstance, encroaching farther and farther, until they were discovered in the act of laparotomy; and, rather in defiance than by conversion of the prevailing sentiment of that Corporation, they went on doing it"; and again: "In cerebral surgery for instance is it not absurd for one institution to deny, let us say, to Sir William Gowers and Professor Ferrier a liberty which by another institution is granted, let us say, to Professors Horsley and Macewen?" In later years he often instanced the gynaecologists, who assumed complete control of the female pelvis, as an example of what physicians should aim at; namely, to be competent to carry out all methods of treatment in the part of the body on which they specialized; thus a

¹ *Lancet*, 1904, ii. 735, and in book form, pp. xvi. and 125. London, Macmillan & Co., 1905.

physician interested in thoracic diseases should be 1904
recognized as the proper person to perform a necessary operation on the chest. The following paragraph well presents the argument for the study of medical history:

As we cannot know any part of an age or people without an idea of the whole, nor take to ourselves a lesson from other times and other folk without some conception of their nature and fashion, so we cannot know modern Medicine unless we study it as a whole, in the past as well as in the present. From Greece and medieval Italy we have to bring home the lesson that our division of Medicine into medicine and surgery had its root not in nature, nor even in natural artifice, but in clerical feudal and humanistic conceits.

This address, published in full in the following year, bears the graceful inscription: "To my generous American Friends: Friends as generous in their Hospitality to the Stranger and their Appreciation of his diffident service as in their Love of Learning, this Tract is dedicated".

On October 5 he was in Baltimore and gave an address at the opening of Osler's new clinical amphitheatre at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. By October 8 he reached New York on his way home, and the late Dr. J. S. Billings of the New York Public Library noted on that day: "When I went up to the library I found Dr. Clifford Allbutt of Cambridge reading the last number of 'Punch', and very much at home". In a letter to "The Times" of November 22, commenting on a leading article dealing with physical education, he insisted on the paramount importance of considering the question of diet in all schemes of physical education, and drew attention to metabolic experiments and results obtained by Atwater and

1904 Chittenden in America. "The Times" of November 29 contained a long letter from him under the heading of "Lunacy", in which, stimulated by the late Sir William Gowers' recent address to the Medico-Psychological Society, he criticized the existing system of the treatment of the insane, and offered some constructive suggestions. To begin with, the ill-omened words "lunacy" and even "asylums" should be got rid of; it may be noted that for the second of these words "mental hospitals" has come into vogue. He continued: "for the main work, colonies—that is, public parks containing a hospital and various villas—should be provided by the local authorities".

1905

In "The Times" of January 4 there was a long letter from him on the subject of "Obligatory Greek", a question then very keenly discussed at Cambridge, where he was among those in favour of making it optional in the Previous Examination. He spoke in the debate in the Senate House, and subsequently published his considered opinion in a fly-sheet of eight pages, which began: "In my speech I said that, to save the time of the Senate, I would then omit certain parts of my matter, and take another opportunity of laying them before the University. Now I have fallen, fondly I fear, into the temptation to print in full the notes I had made for myself before the debate. It is to the function of speech as of the essential nature of a language that I would venture to call special attention; for this physiological truth has a far wider bearing than we have in view of our previous deliberation." When setting out this argument, he pointed

out that classical Greek could never again be a spoken language in the West, and went on: "I am convinced that if a language is to be an effectual instrument of general education it must enjoy that which is of its essence; it must be a speech—a tongue. Physicians know well that the relations between the motor factors of a language and the development of its thoughts are not only intimate but are organically integrated in the brain. If we make Greek optional we can thereby raise our standard of Latin; and in place of the sterile methods of cramming little boys with the abstruse propositions of grammatical pedagogues, we may start them as—if we had but eyes to see—nature herself starts them, by way of the physiological instruments of language." Like the status of women in the University, the retention of compulsory Greek in the Previous Examination was a recurring problem, and it was not until January 1919 that it was finally settled by being made optional. 1905

Active University Libraries are continually in want of room for expansion, and the special appeal, issued by the Vice-Chancellor (E. A. Beek), the Librarian (Francis J. H. Jenkinson), and J. W. Clark, Chairman of the Library Appeal Sub-Committee appointed by the University Association, began its statement to Members of the Senate and Friends of the University: "The Library of the University of Cambridge occupies a unique position. It is the only Library in England, perhaps in Europe, of which it can be said that after a continuous existence of nearly five hundred years, and after all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, it is still used day by day by the members of the corporate body to which it belongs, with the freedom of its earliest organiza-

1905 tion." As would naturally be expected, Allbutt was among the first to come to the rescue with a generous donation.

On January 11 he was at Bristol to deliver an address on "The Prevention of Apoplexy"¹ to the Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Society. In a brief but interesting philosophical introduction he traced the progress of medicine as expressed up to the era of Morgagni and morbid anatomy in the eighteenth century by the question, "What is Disease?" then by the problem, "Where is Disease?" and now by the inquiry, "How is Disease?" or what is the genesis of morbid processes, and by the answer to this etiological question to find the sure road to the prevention of disease. As a safeguard against the insidious rise of blood-pressure which early lays the mine, which when it explodes is cerebral haemorrhage, he recommended that as a matter of routine every adult of forty years of age and upwards should have his blood-pressure taken, and this process repeated every five years until about the age of sixty years, when, if there is not any great increase in the blood-pressure, the danger of cerebral haemorrhage may be disregarded. In his last publication on the subject, in 1925, he expressed an adverse opinion on such periodic examinations.

On February 5 he gave the Friday evening discourse at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Albemarle Street, with Sir William Crookes in the chair. The subject of "Blood-pressure in Man"² was illustrated by lantern slides and by Dr. W. E. Dixon's demonstrations of a number of the points raised,

¹ *Bristol Med.-Chir. Journ.*, 1905, xxiii, 1-10.

² *Nature*, London, 1904-5, lxxi, 375.

such as the difference in vascular efficiency under 1905 muscular exertion in a young and in an elderly man. In this month his review¹ of C. Kalbfleisch's edition of Galen's *De Causis continentibus Libellus* appeared. On April 26 he opened a discussion on influenza,² and was followed by Dr. Franklin Parsons, who spoke on the epidemiological problems, at the Hunterian Society of London. In a broad survey of the subject Allbutt touched on points of practical importance; thus he said: "I am quite sure that no patient for some time after influenza ought, for empyema or the like, to have chloroform as an anaesthetic".

In May a number of British physicians accepted the invitation of their French colleagues to go to Paris, and Allbutt, who had been in America when the French medical men visited London, October 10-12, in the previous year, was a prominent member of the party. At the initial reception on the evening of May 10, at the Sorbonne, by M. Liard, Rector of the University, he spoke in excellent French, and together with the late Sir William Broadbent, who was the leader of the visitors, was presented with a gold medal as a souvenir of the occasion. At the grand banquet on May 12, which was the official conclusion of the visit, he was again one of the speakers.

On October 3, 1905, at the opening of the winter session at King's College Hospital he delivered an address on "Medical Education in London", subsequently published in book form by Macmillans in 1906 with the broader title "On Professional Education, with Special Reference to Medicine". In it he

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1905, xix. 59-60.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1905, i. 977.

1905 remarked: "If I may contribute my dole to a current controversy, I would opine that no teacher reaches his best till middle life. Not till then does he gather the fruits of experience, or attain to a rich and vital sense of our ignorance; not till then does he wholly escape from formulae and routine; not till then does he learn what to leave unsaid; then it is that erudition and experience mellow into wisdom." The "current controversy" was that raised by Sir William Osler's valedictory address, "The Fixed Period", delivered on February 22, 1905, at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, in which he referred to "the comparative uselessness of men above forty years of age", and was hurriedly and erroneously interpreted by a certain section of the lay press as advocating the painless extinction by chloroform of men over sixty years of age, so that the verb "to Oslerize" actually got into a popular dictionary. Allbutt in a footnote to this address at King's College Hospital had a sly dig at his brother Regius to the effect that "thus Regius Professors may supplement each other's researches". In this address he insisted that the function of a university is not qualification for the practice of any art or trade, but a training of the mind, a formation of habits of study, of insight, of easy handling of ideas, and the development of imagination.

On October 19 the anniversary of Sir Thomas Browne's birth in 1605 was celebrated at Norwich, and Lord Avebury, better known as Sir John Lubbock, unveiled a memorial statue in the open part of that city known as the Haymarket. Allbutt represented the University of Cambridge, and in seconding a vote of thanks to Lord Avebury, said that as

Sir Thomas Browne was great as a man of science, 1905 greater as a naturalist, and greater still as a man of letters, it was with singular fitness that Lord Avebury, who was a great man of science, a great naturalist, and no less renowned as a man of letters, should preside at the celebration.

In October Bishop John Gott (1830–1906), an old friend from the time (1873–86) when he was Vicar of Leeds, was staying with the Allbutts, and the following extract from a letter written by him on October 19 shows the trust that Allbutt's friends had in his professional advice and the trouble that he devoted to them: "I have just returned from Clifford Allbutt at Cambridge; he spent all yesterday morning in examining me, and was considering me through my two days with him. So I have given myself every chance, you see. His report is far more favourable than G——'s—not that I was afraid of angina, yet I am glad for some reasons that don't so much affect me, that there is no trace of it in me. Only I must slacken down, and do no public work for a time."

In a paper on "The Importance of Blood-pressure in Clinical Medicine",¹ published in October, he outlined the preventive and early treatment of the subjects of hyperpiesia, who, though not as a rule the victims of frank gout, often come of a gouty stock. After discussing the dietetic and drug treatment he gave some advice which is of personal interest as showing what he, with a gouty inheritance, did to keep himself in good health. "There is one systematic cure or preservation in incipient or mildly recurrent cases which is better than spas and

¹ *Hospital*, London, 1905–6, xxxix. 21.

1905 medicines, and this is mountain climbing. Let the person thus liable get away twice a year into the hills, as to Switzerland, Cumberland, or Scotland; not to shoot driven game, to eat a hot lunch, and ride home in a motor car, but to march up and down hill for a month from morn to eve, with no more than a crust of bread and a handful of prunes in his pocket. This I do in Switzerland and the Lakes, keeping watch on my blood-pressure. I have never again had to go Homburg, as I had to do some summers ago, when for two years I had been barred by other engagements from my climbing propensities. After a week or ten days on the glaciers the pulse will become as gentle as the pulse of a child." On November 14, at the Medico-Legal Society, Sir Wilmot Herringham introduced a discussion on the subject of consultation among medical witnesses before trials, and Allbutt sent a memorandum describing the plan he had been instrumental in getting adopted in Leeds with great success a quarter of a century before (*vide* p. 78).

On the death of Sir John Burdon-Sanderson (1828–1905) he wrote a charming appreciation¹ of the late Regius Professor of Medicine at the sister University, whom he first met through Wilson Fox. Sanderson, when uncertain whether he should devote his life to science or to medicine, and also a bachelor, had stayed in Leeds with Allbutt, who wrote: "I see him vividly now as he was on that first visit to me, rather elegant in appearance, leaning in the light of a bay window, discoursing on the sphygmograph—a discourse from which I derived the sources of my subsequent interest in the problems of the circulation".

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1905, ii. 1489.

1906

At a conversazione of the Classical Association, 1906 of which he was a member, held at King's College, London, on the evening of January 5, he gave an address on "The Speaking of Latin",¹ urging, much on the same lines as in his fly-sheet about Greek in the previous year at Cambridge, that this was the way in which it should be taught, and regretting that "so fast are we bound to the modern convention that a language, if not dead, ought to be, that schoolmasters exhibit a withering contempt for languages as tongues, and protest that to speak a language is but the trick of a parrot, or the showy and superficial accomplishment of those French and German classes which are being foisted into our schools and universities by a utilitarian public".

In a clinical lecture on three cases of arterial disease² he insisted that by "a disease" is meant "a group of symptoms which recurs with approximate constancy, and to which therefore it is convenient to attach a label or name: moreover that, as similar events must result from similar causes, no approximately constant group of symptoms can result from different causes". This lecture provoked considerable interest, as shown by the resulting correspondence. Later in the spring he wrote two letters³ commenting on a case, reported by Dr. Curtis, of angina without apparent disease of the heart or blood-vessels. On February 7 he was in Edinburgh as the guest of the students' Royal Medical Society, which, as it

¹ *Proc. Class. Assoc.*, 1906, p. 19.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1906, i. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 1906, i. 919, 1070.

1906 was founded in 1734, is therefore the oldest existing medical society, and is the only students' medical society with a Royal Charter, obtained in 1778 by the exertions of Caleb Hillier Parry (1755–1822), afterwards “the distinguished old Bath physician”, as Osler called him, and the first describer of exophthalmic goitre. In his reply to the toast of his health Allbutt referred to the eminent men who had adorned the Society, and passing on to speak about medical education, mentioned the advantage after qualification of having a year's training by working with a medical practitioner. On the following day he attended the late G. A. Gibson's clinic at the Royal Infirmary, and addressed some remarks on cardio-vascular disease to the class. In March, when the late Dr. Hugh Walsham gave a lecture at Cambridge on the use of X-rays in diagnosis, Allbutt naturally spoke at the meeting.

When King Edward VII. Sanatorium for Tuberculosis at Midhurst was opened in 1906, Sir Clifford was one of the original twelve consulting physicians who each make an annual visit, one for each month, to inspect the hospital generally, examine patients, and write a considered report which is circulated to the other consultants. This duty he enjoyed, and, like all his numerous engagements, performed with scrupulous regularity up to the end of his life. On March 14 he was appointed consulting physician to the Mount Vernon Hospital for Diseases of the Chest, then and until 1914 in Hampstead, and thus was a colleague of James Mackenzie for three years (1909–1912). During this month he was in Ambleside, and on his way south to attend a meeting of the Committee of the Athenaeum, stopped with the late Sir

Charles Brown at Preston to visit the Infirmary, and 1906 was naturally much interested in his host's chamber organ. The visit was returned on July 15-16, when Sir C. Brown stayed at St. Radegunds to discuss the Research Hospital at Cambridge. "The Times" of June 5 and 21 contained letters from Allbutt about the desirability of establishing a chair of Comparative Medicine at Cambridge.

At the formal constitution of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, at a meeting held in the Victoria University of Manchester on July 14, Allbutt and Osler both assisted at the birth of a vigorous offspring, which has now about 400 members. At that time J. Lorrain Smith, who had been John Lucas Walker student in Pathology (1892) and Demonstrator of Pathology (1894) at Cambridge, was Professor of Pathology at Manchester. *The Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology*, which became the official journal of the new society, was founded in 1893 by German Sims Woodhead (1855-1921), who in 1899 succeeded the late A. A. Kanthaek as Professor of Pathology at Cambridge, and was edited by him continuously up till the end of 1920. An editorial in the *Journal* for January 1922 says that "it was by his generosity and his practical interest in the inception of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland that the *Journal* became the official organ of the Society".

On August 4 Allbutt received the honorary degree of D.Sc. at Leeds, and then made a hurried visit to attend the Toronto meeting of the British Medical Association and to receive the degree of LL.D. *honoris causa* from the Universities of Toronto and McGill, Montreal. In the section of Medicine, presided over

1906 by Sir Thomas Barlow, he read a paper on the relation of blood-pressure to arteriosclerosis on August 21, and two days later, at a joint meeting of the sections of Medicine and of Pathology and Bacteriology, took part, together with Adami, Asehoff of Freiberg, and Klotz, in a discussion on the forms of arteriosclerosis, opened by Professor W. H. Welch of Baltimore. In his contribution entitled "Clinical Remarks on Arteriosclerosis" he took the opportunity of insisting that arteriosclerosis is not a clinical disease—is not manifested by a uniform or approximately uniform series of symptoms, but is a pathological change which may be of several kinds; thus, as he had previously pointed out in 1903, there were three classes: the toxic, for example, syphilitic; the hyperpietic, which might be either independent of or associated with kidney disease; and the involutionary, a senile or quasi-senile degradation.

After a crowded week or less in Canada he returned to England, and opened the winter session at the Guy's Hospital Pupils Physical Society, founded in 1771, and so the oldest surviving medical society in London. In an address on "Words and Things",¹ dealing with the correct application of names to diseases, he said: "Some of you who have heard my teaching before must forgive me if I repeat my insistence that the name of a disease is not, as it is continually regarded, a thing. There is no such *thing* as typhoid fever, as angina pectoris, as spleno-medullary leukaemia, and so forth; the things so called are Wilkinson, Johnson, and Thompson, who after their kinds are afflicted not alike, but within such limits of similarity as to lead us to class them

¹ *Lancet*, 1906, ii. 1120-25; *Guy's Hosp. Gaz.*, 1906, N.S., xx. 448.

together and to form a general conception of them.” 1906

He thus expressed in graphic language Claude Bernard's definition of disease as a physiological reaction in altered circumstances, and the opinion of Erasistratus (300 B.C.), as he later pointed out in the FitzPatrick Lectures, that disease is a perversion of normal processes and not a condition contrary or foreign to biological nature. He said: “Remember that, when it is asked if such and such a group of symptoms be ‘a morbid entity’ or not, that since the day of William of Ockham we have given up entities, that the question is now one only of convenience of reason; but that when we have once agreed to give a certain name to a certain morbid series of events—arbitrarily agreed, that is—then we must stick to our label; for if the label is to be shifted about, or the things under it shifted, all accurate reason comes to an end”. He ridiculed the use of pseudo-compounds, such as pseudo-angina. A little later he wrote a letter¹ about the use of the word *prodromata* as a plural word, in response to one by Sir William R. Gowers, who confessed that he had been an offender in this respect; Allbutt, however, in his comment was by no means dogmatic in saying that it was wrong. In a letter to “The Times” of December 26, in connection with the subject of the prevalence and treatment of insanity, which had then been much discussed, he said that, though the system of public asylums is honourable and humane in intention, it was in a scientific sense a gigantic muddle.

¹ *Lancet*, 1906, ii. 1304.

1907

1907 To the January number of the *Practitioner*,¹ which was specially devoted to the consideration of influenza, he supplied the introduction, and was followed by the late Sir Richard Douglas Powell, Sir William Broadbent, Sir Dyce Duckworth, Sir John Moore of Dublin, Dr. Samuel West, and others. In the same month the first number of the *British Journal of Tuberculosis*² appeared, and here again he wrote the first article, "The Study of Tuberculosis: a Retrospect", in which he gave his early recollections of the treatment of pulmonary consumption when fresh air was anathema (*vide* p. 7). "The Times" of January 2 contained a letter from him on the subject of insanity, in which he deplored the want of research in connection with mental hospitals, and insisted that by research must not be meant laboratory work alone, for it is really "methodized and disinterested practice, and must be exercised not only on the artificial systems of the laboratory, but also on the rich variety of nature. Nevertheless, at any rate in recent times, discovery has been achieved only by specialists who can give all their time and energy to it without thought for bread." Therefore, he said, young men, highly trained, should be so paid as to be able to give their whole time to the investigation of the causation and cure of disease.

In 1907 an influential committee for the study of special diseases was established, consisting of Clifford Allbutt, William Osler, William Church, Jonathan Hutchinson, Richard Douglas Powell, Henry Morris,

¹ *Practitioner*, London, 1907, lxxxviii. 1-10.

² *Brit. Journ. Tuberc.*, London, 1907, i. 5-10.

W. Watson Cheyne, Howard Marsh, Thomas Barlow, 1907 Victor Horsley, and Donald MacAlister. Its object was to promote the scientific investigation of chronic, incapacitating, but not immediately fatal diseases. At first a small house in Hartington Grove, Cambridge, was utilized as a research hospital, where relays of a few patients at a time, with rheumatoid arthritis, were thoroughly investigated by the late T. S. P. Strangeways (1866–1926), whose enthusiasm drew workers to his side, and led to the issue of volumes in 1905, 1907, 1908, and 1910 of the *Bulletin of the Committee for the Study of Special Diseases*. In 1911 the foundation-stone was laid, and on May 24, 1912, the Cambridge Hospital for Special Diseases was formally opened and declared free from debt by the late Sir Charles Brown (1836–1925) of Preston, who, influenced by Allbutt, was a most generous benefactor to this experimental or research hospital, founding a studentship in pathological research, and providing a photomicrographic outfit and a complete X-ray apparatus. He also bequeathed his “body to the Directors of the Research Hospital, Cambridge”, authorizing them “to retain such parts of it as they consider may be suitable additions to their pathological museum”. In accordance therewith his brain, hip, finger, and bladder were placed in the Museum. Allbutt had taken the greatest interest in the hospital from its inception, spoke at the opening, and paid a tribute to Strangeways’ work on rheumatoid arthritis, mentioning that he had carefully analyzed 4000 specimens. The Strangeways Collection of rheumatoid joints is now in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

In July 1907 Allbutt wrote a fine appreciation of

1907 his old friend Sir William Broadbent (1835–1907), who was born near Huddersfield: “His was the sturdy, righteous temper which has been the making of England and which we northern men are proud to think has been largely, though by no means only, ours”.

Allbutt's creation as a K.C.B. (civil) in the Birthday Honours list on November 9 met with wide approval as an honour long overdue, for he had already been fifteen years Regius Professor, which, with the corresponding appointment at Oxford, may reasonably be regarded as coming after the Presidents of the two Royal Colleges in London in the rank of the profession. As he wrote to a correspondent some five years before in reply to an expression of regret that his claims to such a recognition had been overlooked, Allbutt did not in the least care for such distinctions, and had indeed declined overtures with regard to a knighthood before he was appointed to Cambridge. Personally, he “would not have crossed the street to ask directly or indirectly for any honour in the world”. He did, however, think that in order to induce leading physicians to give up the worldly rewards of a big practice elsewhere and take up the duties of “a hard-worked post with small salary and great claims upon it”, some such recognition was important. Otherwise the principle of appointing someone drawn from the wider field of practice, not a mere academic person or one brought up in local routine, might not be found to work in the future. When the honour was made public he was of course snowed under with congratulations, which gave him real pleasure, as the following reply to a friend whom he had known since 1866, shows:

ST. RADEGUNDS, CAMBRIDGE, 1907
November 16, 1907.

MY DEAR CRICHTON-BROWNE—I must from this splendid pile pick out your letter as one of the most welcome for early acknowledgement. In the more than kind and generous words in which you express your congratulations, I should have read chiefly the very agreeable regard of an old and dear friend, had they not received a supporting testimony from within and without the profession which I can hardly quite realize and can never bring myself to believe. Still, that I should have seemed to so many people to be such an one, cannot but be joyful and especially that I have sustained the honour of the Chair which I have tried to occupy worthily. This is sad egoism but you must accept the blame of it for your cheering message. If you realized the pleasure it is to me to reply to it, you would not tell me to receive it in silence.

Of all the benefits and kindnesses I have received from you none are forgotten, many as they are—none is so much valued as the gift of your forty years' friendship.

When the honour was announced he was in some little doubt whether he should call himself Sir Thomas, as he wished to do because it was his father's name, or Sir Clifford, because he was generally known as Clifford Allbutt. More often dropping the T., he sometimes retained it, and occasionally signed obituary notices and reviews C. A., but everyone spoke and wrote of him as Sir Clifford.

In an article which appeared on November 16, just a week after his creation as K.C.B. but before the King had conferred the accolade upon him, he was curiously but rightly described as Professor T. Clifford Allbutt, K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S. In this account of "The Senile Cardio-vascular System"¹ he divided the life of man into three periods: the first thirty

¹ *Hospital*, London, 1907, xliii. 159-61.

1907 years as that of acute infections, the second from thirty to sixty as that of chronic infections and maladies such as gout, cancer, and diabetes, and from sixty or sixty-five to ninety as the period of slowly advancing senility or preparation for death. He was then just over sixty-one years of age, and the only inconsistency he was ever guilty of was in never conforming to his dictum as to the state of those between sixty and ninety, for he was most active in every respect up to the day of his death, and his mind never got rigid, as so often occurs with prolonged life. In this article he introduced the adjective *de-crescent* to designate the arterial changes seen in the last period, in preference to *involutionary*, which is open to the objection that arteriosclerosis is not a necessary accompaniment of old age. He then spoke of hyperpiesia, or idiopathic high blood-pressure, which he regarded as the cause rather than the consequence of arteriosclerosis; raised blood-pressure, he pointed out, must be due to one of two factors, either viscosity of the blood or more probably widespread constriction of the vessels in the splanchnic or musculo-cutaneous systems. He wrote the article on arteriosclerosis in Hutchison and Collier's (afterwards Sherren's) successful *Index of Treatment*, the eighth edition of which came out in 1921.

Like W. E. Gladstone, he seldom declined a challenge to enter into debate; thus, under the heading, "What do we mean by Tachycardia?"¹ he gently defended himself against the suggestion that he had been guilty of "taking a word of general import and using it without qualification in a limited sense" in his article in the first edition of his *System of Medi-*

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1907, ii. 938.

cine (1898, v. 824) dealing with what has commonly been called paroxysmal tachycardia. In that article he had not employed the adjective "paroxysmal", and almost at the outset had remarked: "If any rapid pulse, ranging, let us say, over 130, is to be decorated with this fine name there is an end to clinical nomenclature". On December 8 he was appointed to the Consulting Staff of the Convalescent Home for Officers of the Navy and Army at Osborne, Isle of Wight, and as usual was most punctilious in his yearly visits and in his reports. 1907

During the final examination for the M.B. on December 17 and 18, his College—Gonville and Caius—gave a dinner to celebrate his K.C.B., at which very interesting and sympathetic speeches were made in his honour by Sir William Osler, who was one of the examiners, and the late Howard Marsh, Professor of Surgery (1903–15), who had recently been made Master of Downing.

1908

He was now finishing his term of two years as Censor at the Royal College of Physicians of London, which entailed attendance at the quarterly examinations for the membership and other meetings for various kinds of College business. The Censors' Board, as the name implies, is the College Committee for dealing with Fellows, Members, or Licentiates who act contrary to the bye-laws and regulations of the College or have committed any offence, such as those judged by the General Medical Council to constitute "infamous conduct in a professional respect". The Censors' Board consists of the President

1908 and the four Censors, and should any one of them fail to attend or to provide an approved substitute no business can be transacted; so, though as a rule not very frequent, except about the beginning of each quarter of the year, the meetings are a serious engagement; furthermore, the revision of the by-laws and regulations of the College, which took place during his term of office, must have necessitated many additional meetings. During this year Sir James Mackenzie (1853–1925), who had left Burnley the previous year to settle in London, submitted himself for the membership; Allbutt, as a member of the Censors' Board, was one of the examiners, and afterwards described this as "a comedy".

Early in the year Allbutt expressed his views on empiricism and instinct in veterinary medicine,¹ and must have been busily engaged in preparing the FitzPatrick Lectures on the history of medicine, which he had been selected to give in 1909 and 1910, and in writing other addresses.

On May 28 he was elected the representative of the University of Cambridge on the General Medical Council in succession to Sir Donald MacAlister, the President of the Council since 1904, who in the previous year had migrated from Cambridge to become Principal of Glasgow University. Before Sir Donald left Cambridge he was naturally entertained at a farewell dinner, and in a happily expressed speech Allbutt playfully referred to this exceptional circumstance of a Scot returning from England to take up an appointment in his native country. By one of those accidents which may occur with even the best of secretaries the guest on this

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1908, i. 231.

occasion was not invited until the day before the 1908 celebration. For two periods of five years Allbutt was a member of the General Council of Medical Education and Registration, to give its full title, which has much of its time when in session occupied by the unpleasant and often tedious duty of hearing charges against members of the medical profession for penal offences and advertising. In May 1918 he was succeeded in this necessary function by Professor (later Sir) Gowland Hopkins.

The August number of the *Classical Review* contained an essay-review from him on Celsus, founded on a German translation of Celsus' *De Medicinâ*.

On October 1 he was at Manchester to deliver the introductory address at the opening of the winter session of the Medical Department of the Victoria University. This address, on "Hospitals, Public Medicine, and Medical Education", was published in the *Lancet* (1908, ii. 1055), commented on in a leading article in the *British Medical Journal* (1908, ii. 1124), and brought out in pamphlet form by the Manchester University Press. It gave a wide survey of the field of medicine, dealing with the management of hospitals and touching on the relations between the lay governors and the medical staff, clinical pathology, out-patients, the relation of universities to technical instruction, and on medicine and the State. In speaking on the last important subject he said that what was wanted was the establishment of a General Staff of Medicine or a Ministry of Health, such as, in fact, was set up after the War. On October 2 he was at Leeds, when, on behalf of the subscribers, the late Dr. J. E. Eddison, his former junior colleague, presented to

1908 the General Infirmary the portraits of Allbutt (by A. S. Cope, A.R.A.) and T. Pridgin Teale (by W. W. Oules, R.A.), and in doing so pointed out that they both were elected to the staff of the Infirmary in 1864, resigned on the same day on account of the expiration of the term of years, and had taken an active part in the building of the new Infirmary which was opened in 1869. After this ceremony Allbutt presented the prizes to the students in the Medical School and gave an address.

Shortly after this he took part in the discussion¹ at the Medical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine on Sir Wilmot Herringham and Mr. F. Womack's paper on "The Resistance of Arteries to External Pressure". In an address on "The Treatment of Angina Pectoris"² he said that though too often, nay, almost universally, regarded as inevitably fatal, this disease is of all perilous maladies perhaps the most curable, for primarily it is not a fatal disease, though secondarily, by reflex inhibition of a frail heart, it frequently kills. He also drew attention to the opinion long held, but first published in 1894, by him that in ninety-eight out of a hundred cases it is a painful lesion of the first part of the aorta. The contrast between science and empiricism was remarkably seen in connection with the use of iodides in arterial diseases—in arteriosclerosis, aneurysm, and angina pectoris—for whereas their value is universally admitted by clinicians, no explanation of this has been obtained experimentally. With regard to the use of nitrites he threw out a caution, as he had noted a disposition to a nitrite habit.

¹ *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.*, 1908-9, ii. (Med. Sect.) 37-49.

² *Folia therap.*, London, 1908, ii. 3-6.

1909

On January 12 he gave the Presidential Address 1909 at the annual meeting of the Public School Science Masters on "The Function of Science in Education",¹ and urged the importance of scientific instruction in schools. He said that science was busily engaged in remodelling and re-interpreting every branch of education and all the walks of life for which they are a preparation. Without the slightest intention of marshalling science in opposition to the humane and other arts, it was his vocation to insist "that as, in their date and degree, all human things fade, science is the means by which we recover from them the principles of strength and beauty, and learn to adapt the newly won principles to new creations—a point of view quite consistent with the pursuit of what is called 'classical' culture". Science was not a hobby, not even a modern system of utilitarian ingenuity, but a way of observing and interpreting everything, including religion. He concluded with the disarming appeal that his address would be in vain if he had not half persuaded even the headmasters that no boy's education was broad and symmetrical which did not include enough science to enable him to pass an examination such as that of the first M.B. at Cambridge. In the discussion following Mr. G. Bernard Shaw's address on "The Socialist Criticism of the Medical Profession" at a meeting of the Medico-Legal Society on February 16, Allbutt remarked: "I really think it would not pain Mr. Shaw much to say that we—most of us—agree with very much that he has said". But with

¹ *The School World*, 1909, xi. 61.

1909 regard to the remarks about medical men revelling in an epidemic of smallpox he felt bound to refer to an extremely able doctor in one of the Yorkshire Dales with a practice worth £1200-£1400 per annum, who, having to fight an epidemic of typhoid fever, set himself day and night to solve the problem of prevention; thus after twenty years he eradicated the disease, but in the process he lost his sleep, broke down his health, and reduced his practice by half, at which figure his widow had to sell it. "Now this," Sir Clifford said, "is the kind of revelling in epidemics which I think is very common in our profession." On March 10 Dr. William Collier of Oxford opened a discussion at the Medical Officers of Schools Association on the question, "Ought school-boys to be allowed to compete in flat and cross-country races of more than one mile in length?" In the ensuing discussion Allbutt spoke.

On the death of his former colleague Claudius Galen Wheelhouse (1826-1909), of Leeds,¹ he described his surgery "as the sure practice of an anatomist and craftsman who learnt everything and forgot nothing; not only so, but of a man whose mind was so orderly and precise that every detail of that learning was continually before his eyes, and standing in its proper relation to other things". He graphically recalled how in 1866 he called him up "suddenly in the night from his bed, and showed him a young man with acute pericardial effusion, then in the jaws of death. All I had to say was: 'Here is this man dying of a pericardial effusion. What you have got to do is to remove it. How you will do it is your affair.' There was no time for questions or books, maps or records;

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1909, i. 985.

the steady hand had to strike, and to strike exactly with the right weapon and exactly in the right place. This was done unhesitatingly, and the patient's recovery, which began from that moment, was complete." 1909

On June 8 he lectured on tuberculosis at the Art Gallery in Whitechapel, and during this month delivered the first half of his FitzPatrick Lectures on the history of medicine at the Royal College of Physicians, dealing with "Greek Medicine in Rome", a subject for which, though he had long been well equipped, some further research was necessary. This lectureship extends over two years. Though published at the time, they were further elaborated, and in 1921 brought out again in a much expanded form, together with other historical essays, of which the Finlayson Memorial Lecture (1913) on "Byzantine Medicine", as carrying on the historical survey, is specially important.

In the second half of the year he had many public engagements, and on several occasions argued in favour of his view that angina pectoris is due to disease of the first part of the aorta, which, as mentioned elsewhere (p. 125), he first put forward in 1894. On July 7 he wrote a friendly letter of congratulation on an article on "Editorial Revision of Titles of Medical Papers", published in the *Virginia Medical Semi-Monthly*, sympathizing with the views expressed, to Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison, now the well-known medical historian, who greatly valued this as the first encouraging note that he ever received from a medical man:

DEAR SIR—Thanks for the cutting of your very interesting paper on Titles. I need not say how cordially I welcome such an eminent champion of accuracy and propriety, especially when he occupies so influential a position

1909 in this subject as yourself. Medical men contend openly that any slovenly language will serve for expression, so long as the *writer* knows what he *himself* means! And that even then an approximate meaning is sufficient. I do not recollect whence came the quotations you are so good as to cite of mine; but I dare say you have somewhere near you my *Guide to Composing Scientific Papers* (Macmillan).

The references made to Allbutt may be reproduced here: "As Professor Clifford Allbutt puts it, 'much of the work which is done in our laboratories and dignified, not improperly perhaps, with the title of research, much plotting of curves, much watching of levers and thermometers, nay, not a little morphological dissection and cabinet-making, are really little more than clerk's work', for 'bundles and files of facts are not science'". In another part of the paper: "Professor Allbutt in referring to this inveterate disease of mistaking words for things thus describes the relation of the man of science to the material universe: 'The watcher, while the stream whirls past, endeavours to throw labels upon its indefinite and fleeting parts; some of the labels stick rightly, others stick in wrong places; others again float along space, as if attached to something, but signify nothing!'" Allbutt, as is shown in connection with the Harveian Oration (1900), the address at King's College Hospital (1905), and other instances, modified the title of his own addresses, so that their final title when published in book form differed from that when published at the time of delivery in the medical press.

Although Allbutt and Garrison never met, their correspondence and common interests in medical history and literature cemented a transatlantic friendship.

In the last few days of July he attended the 1909 annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Belfast to open a discussion on angina pectoris in the Section of Medicine,¹ being followed by Sir Lauder Brunton and Sir William Osler. This statement of his views was followed by a brief correspondence in the *Lancet* on "The Nature of Angina" between the late Sir Richard Douglas Powell, who dissented, and Allbutt, who by this time was holiday-making at Sierre in Switzerland. He always conscientiously pronounced the word angina, with the quantity which is periodically shown in the medical papers by scholarly authorities to be correct, and is as constantly disregarded. In the discussion at Belfast, Osler brightened the proceedings by remarking that "when in the presence of a college don or of a great 'stickler' for the proprieties of language he said angina, but when talking to the ordinary man, he adopted Horace's rule and said angĭna". Allbutt also joined in the discussion in the Medical Section on "The Medical Aspects of Athleticism", and said that in his experience not a single instance of permanent harm from exercise had ever occurred in young men, except after some infectious illness, such as influenza. In October he gave the inaugural address at Charing Cross Hospital Medical School, where in 1901 he had presented the prizes, and spoke on two subjects: (a) the importance of athletic games in the formation of character; and (b) on the advantages of anatomy as a disciplinary study and engendering accuracy. On October 5 he opened a discussion at the Therapeutical and Pharmacological Section of the Royal Society of Medicine, with the late Professor A. R. Cushny in the

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1909, ii. 1123.

1909 presidential chair, "On the Teaching of Therapeutics in the Hospital Ward", and pointed out that medical men must be pioneers and could not afford always to wait for pharmacologists, though there must be a mutual watchfulness of each other. Osler, Dyce Duckworth, W. E. Dixon, and R. Hutchison joined in the discussion. The nineteenth of October found him at his native place, Dewsbury, opening a new home for nurses and operating theatres at the Infirmary, and reviewing the condition of nursing and medical practice in Leeds half a century before. On November 25 he spoke again on the subject of angina pectoris, in a discussion at the Harveian Society. During this busy year he also gave an address to the Metropolitan Branch of the British Medical Association on "The Clinical Aspect of Arterial Disease",¹ and the second edition of the *System of Medicine* contained his revised articles on chlorosis (vol v.) and on over-stress of the heart, diseases of the aortic area, and functional disease of the heart (vol. vi.), which were all expanded and occupied 88 more pages than in the first edition, especially the article on over-stress, previously entitled mechanical strain, of the heart, thus showing the amount of time and thought devoted to the revision.

1910

The second instalment of the FitzPatrick Lectures on Greek Medicine in Rome at the Royal College of Physicians of London and the revision of his article on neurasthenia in the second edition of the *System of Medicine*, which was more than double its original length, must have fully occupied his thoughts

¹ *Hospital*, London, 1909, xlii. 433.

and spare time; but in spite of this he was active in 1910 many other directions. In February an Advisory Board to prepare for the Seventeenth International Congress of Medicine to be held in London in August 1913 was set up, and he was naturally one of this body. In a letter headed "Duodenal Ulcer and Appendix Dyspepsia"¹ he supported Mr. Berkeley (later Lord) Moynihan's now generally accepted view of appendix dyspepsia, then a new idea which had been rather severely condemned by the late Sir Anthony Bowlby, who thought that one result of Moynihan's paper would be that many dyspeptic people would undergo operations for the removal of the appendix, and that the great majority of them would be none the better. Allbutt began his letter: "As I had read Mr. Moynihan's paper on 'Appendix Dyspepsia' with much interest, and I fancied that I had learnt yet one more lesson upon an old text of mine that 'neurosis' must be, so to speak, the last ditch of diagnosis, I felt a little discomfited to read the severe strictures upon this paper by Mr. Bowlby". After a comparison of the views of these two surgeons and the record of two cases of appendix dyspepsia, he concluded: "I am disposed to anticipate, then, partly by the analogies of other such vicious circles, that a finer discrimination of symptomatic series and an accumulation of data will prove that latent disease of the appendix may not infrequently, in persons of low resistance, set up reactions of a dyspeptic and 'neurotic' kind". This incident illustrates Allbutt's readiness to welcome new ideas, and that as the result of long experience and a shrewd judgement he hardly ever made the mistake of supporting a fallacious

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1910, i. 413.

1910 though at first sight promising departure. In the same issue Professor C. A. Ewald of Berlin wrote confirming the existence of appendix dyspepsia, and pointing out that he had described these cases in 1899, under the name of "appendicitis larvata, because the physician treating them thinks of anything but a disease originating in the appendix". Allbutt followed this up on June 17 by a letter to "The Times" dealing with the treatment of appendicitis and the relation of surgeons and physicians in this connection. On June 11 he was one of the signatories of a letter to the same paper on the subject of the feeble-minded.

On June 18 the *British Medical Journal* brought out a special number on faith-healing, to which Allbutt¹ contributed the first article, followed by the late Sir Henry Morris, Mr. (later Sir) Henry Butlin, Professor William Osler, and Dr. T. Claye Shaw. This subject and quackery, as well as medical history, were favourites of Charles Louis Taylor (1849–1919), who was for more than thirty years on the staff, and for twenty years (1887–1917) assistant editor of the *Journal*; he and Allbutt were on common ground in medical history, and on very friendly terms. After Taylor's death Allbutt² wrote: "Many years ago, when Mr. Hart was editor of the *Journal*, I had some conversation on business matters with Mr. Taylor, and a little later we happened to travel together abroad for a short time. During this time, unfortunately, Taylor fell ill, and I was privileged to render him some little professional assistance, assistance which, after his manner, he appreciated too gener-

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1910, i. 1453.

² *Ibid.*, 1920, i. 101.

ously. Thenceforward our friendship became a closer intimacy. We corresponded not infrequently, sometimes on professional matters, more often on literary and general subjects. When I visited at the offices of the Association I generally took occasion also to call upon Taylor. It was one of our little games to test the correctness of my identification of his anonymous articles. These were usually so acute, learned, and witty, that although every now and then one of them would escape my notice, I was very rarely wrong in my positive attributions."

At the annual meeting of the British Medical Association held in London at the end of July, Allbutt discussed the late Dr. (later Sir) Frederick Mott's paper, "The Nervous System in Chronic Alcoholism" in the Pathological Section, and spoke after James Mackenzie and Lauder Brunton in the discussion on Professor K. F. Wenckebach's paper on "The Effects of Digitalis on the Human Heart" in the Section of Pharmacology and Therapeutics.

On October 13 he was in Edinburgh to open the laboratory of clinical medicine at the Royal Infirmary; in doing so he deprecated the tendency to divorce pathology from clinical medicine, and therefore welcomed this laboratory as a step towards their integration. Two days later he opened the 174th session of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh—the students' society—by an address on "Blood-pressure and Arterial Disease".

In the autumn he gave the two lectures of his second year's tenure of the FitzPatrick Lectureship at the Royal College of Physicians on "Greek Medicine in Rome", beginning with Solanus and concluding with an account of the pneumatists. As evidence of

1910 the extensive preparation for these lectures, attention may be drawn to his long review¹ of Ilberg's *Die Überlieferung der Gynäkologie des Soranus von Ephesus*. The lectures, published in the medical press² at the time, were subsequently much expanded and, together with eight other historical essays, brought out in book form in 1921. In November he reviewed³ Axon Nelson's *Text und Studien: Die Hippocratische Schrift Περί φυσῶν*, and included with this a notice of Ernst Krause's study of Diogenes of Apollonia.

1911

In May he contributed under the heading "Energy and the Organism"⁴ a pleasantly written review of Dr. J. B. Hurry's *Vicious Circles in Disease*, making it clear that while the author did not for a moment pretend to have discovered this notion of vicious circles he had made it his own, for no one had presented the subject systematically in book form, though many had noticed the sequence, among them the Teales of Leeds, especially T. Pridgin Teale, who taught it emphatically in lectures and put it into practice. With regard to this last point Allbutt remarked:

Among the absurd axioms which we are apt to repeat without thought is that which unconditionally impugns the practical impulse to "treat symptoms"; but in the majority of cases—in all for which we have no specific antidote—no other course is open to the practitioner. Moreover, even where we have such a specific, to refrain from treating symptoms, if the physician's is not the patient's point of

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1911, xxv. 49-52.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1910, ii. 1393, 1481; *Lancet*, 1910, ii. 1325, 1395.

³ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1910, xxiv. 225.

⁴ *Nature*, London, 1911, lxxxvi. 374.

view. He asks for cure; but also for relief. Now these observations and maxims of Dr. Hurry emphasize a further truth—that in so doing we may be cutting across—at any point, it matters not where—a “vicious circle”. 1911

In an address on “Arteriosclerosis and the Kidneys”,¹ delivered before the Kensington Division of the Metropolitan Branch of the British Medical Association, he went fully into the relation of high blood-pressure and arteriosclerosis and renal disease, and gave the history of the steps by which he had arrived at the conception of hyperpiesia or high blood-pressure without renal disease. In April a long and considered review on “The Viscosity of the Blood”² appeared, in which he summarized existing knowledge as to “the degrees of dependence of cardio-arterial integrity upon the qualities of the fluid these vessels contain and drive”, and concluded that even if estimation of viscosity is as yet of little clinical assistance, further investigation should be carried out. When the late A. D. Waller’s Hitchcock lectures for 1909 at the University of California, Berkeley, were printed in book form, *Physiology the Servant of Medicine*, they were reviewed by Allbutt.³

At the Birmingham meeting of the British Medical Association, George Alexander Gibson of Edinburgh (1854–1913) opened a discussion in the Medical Section, and included in it as entirely coinciding with his own views the following letter from Allbutt:

ST. RADEGUNDS, CAMBRIDGE,
July 11, 1911.

DEAR GIBSON—I fear I shall be unable to attend the British Medical Association meeting at Birmingham this

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1911, i. 853, 922.

² *Quart. Journ. Med.*, Oxford, 1910–11, iv. 342–67.

³ *Nature*, London, 1911, lxxxv. 465.

1911 month. I see you are going to open the discussion on asthma. You are careful about language, and I hope you will protest against the shifting of labels, which encourages loose speaking and thinking in students and in *others*. Thus the name *asthma* is often used for what is *not* asthma; for example, cardiac dyspnoea and uraemic dyspnoea; as slovenly people talk of uraemic or Jacksonian epilepsy, meaning convulsions only. These ways cause no end of clinical fog and react unfavourably on precision of clinical thinking. In a drawing-room a lady may call a whale a fish; but to see it so called in the technical papers of a zoologist would shock us; it is, however, no worse than *cardiac asthma*.

This roused James Mackenzie¹ to write on October 13 as follows:

SIR—Dr. Gibson, in opening a discussion on asthma at a meeting of the British Medical Association, read a letter from Sir Clifford Allbutt, in which he spoke of the slovenly people who use terms without precision, and he singled out that of “cardiac asthma” as being a particularly reprehensible example. Dr. Gibson states that his views are exactly those of Sir Clifford Allbutt. As I am one of the slovenly people who has repeatedly used the term “cardiac asthma”, I would very much like these learned physicians to tell me where I am wrong.

To this Allbutt² replied in conciliatory terms saying that he had never seen the events characteristic of spasmodic asthma in cardiac disease; Mackenzie fastened on this admission and the correspondence between them ceased, though Gibson intervened and carried it on for a short time. Allbutt was apparently convinced, for in his *Diseases of the Arteries, including Angina Pectoris* (1915, i. 401) he gave a vivid account of a paroxysm of cardiac asthma which he

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1911, ii. 1040, 1231.

² *Ibid.*, 1911, ii. 1135.



SIR THOMAS CLIFFORD ALLBUTT, K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S.

In 1911.

had observed, and compared it to the well-known 1911 renal or uraemic asthma, on which he had written in 1877 when it was not so generally recognized.

To Volume XVIII. of the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911) he contributed an addendum to J. F. Payne's article on the History of Medicine, dealing with Modern Medicine; Payne (1840-1910) wrote the article on this subject in the ninth edition of the work, but had been laid aside by illness for some time before his death on November 16, 1910. It may be noted that this division of labour was the reverse of that in the article on the history of medicine in the second edition of Allbutt's *System of Medicine* (1905, i. 1-45), in which he wrote on ancient medicine and Payne on medicine in Europe from the beginning of the Dark Ages onwards. Under the heading "Healing by Touch"¹ he reviewed at some length Raymond Crawford's book, *The King's Evil*. On August 15 he was at St. Andrews to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University.

1912

The National Insurance Act 1911, and the way in which it might affect medical men, gave Allbutt, who was for four years a member of the Insurance Acts Committee of the British Medical Association and thus a spokesman for the profession, a great deal of work during this and subsequent years. For the British Medical Association's Committee he on several occasions wrote considered statements and went on deputations to Ministers when important matters were under discussion. He was also a member

¹ *Nature*, London, 1911-12, lxxxviii. 169.

1912 of the Government's large Advisory Committee of the National Insurance Act. "The Times" of January 3 contained a vigorous letter from him with the object of getting the public to realize how the National Insurance Act must influence the development of medicine; he made it quite clear that the continuation of a contract method of practice, like that of clubs, would be most harmful to the well-being of medicine, for "in his Insurance Bill the Chancellor was content with an antiquated notion of medicine and of medical service; he took for granted, without inquiry, a notion built of some vague knowledge of village clubs and of the old-fashioned *vade mecum* way of doctoring. This is, 'For such and such a disease, such and such a drug; take the mixture, drink it regularly, and get well if Nature will let you'." "Gloss it as we may," he continued, "contract practice will stand lower in public esteem, and will be of lower average efficiency and much less humane; it will damp the aspirations and blot the high-minded ideals with which I, who know, say that the young physicians of to-day are entering our profession; and it will push them back to old-fashioned routine and to ill-remunerated and therefore undervalued services." After this letter the late Dr. Lauriston Shaw wrote to "The Times" as, in some degree at any rate, an apologist for the Act. Allbutt, who in a brief rejoinder described this letter as a supplement rather than a reply, thus did the country and the profession a great service by clearly warning the public that unless the Exchequer and its Chancellor (Mr. D. Lloyd George) changed their point of view and amended the actuarial data (based on an allowance of six shillings a year to the medical

man), medicine must be set back or the profession must refuse to work under the scheme. On September 22 he wrote a letter¹ on behalf of nineteen medical members of the Advisory Committee of the National Insurance Act to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and later on in the autumn attended a conference of the Committee with the Chancellor and replied to his statements. 1912

The first number of the *Universal Medical Record* opened with articles by Sir Clifford Allbutt and Sir Berkeley Moynihan, past and present ornaments of the Leeds School, on "The Importance of Precision in Nomenclature" and on "Jejunal Ulcer" respectively. Allbutt illustrated his theme by the current misuse of the words "theory" and "fact", describing "theory", that is to say, verified hypothesis, as the highest mode of scientific or analytical truth, whereas "fact" was not any general statement, however irrefutable, but something known on adequate testimony to have happened. Further, "by calling familiar opinions 'facts', and novel or unfamiliar opinions 'theories', ideas new but true are swept into the same heap with visionary speculations, hazardous suggestions, and arm-chair guesses". The word "disease" was too often wrongly used, as if there were a "morbid entity" which, like an evil spirit, entered into a man; diseases, he insisted, were only mental concepts of various disorderly ways of function and had not any independent existence. This article was the subject of a leader in the *Lancet*, and on April 8, under the heading "The Nomenclature of Disease" Allbutt wrote a letter² in defence of his definition of disease, which had been adversely

¹ *Lancet*, 1912, ii. 911, 1190.

² *Ibid.*, 1912, i. 1017.

1912 criticized by Dr. S. W. MacIlwaine. On March 12, in an address on "The Physician and the Pathologist on Heart Failure"¹ before the Chelsea Clinical Society at a meeting held at St. George's Hospital, he expressed the opinion that the interpretation of cardiac pathology in terms of clinical medicine had become less clear than before; this evoked some contentious correspondence necessitating replies to the criticisms of a number of cardiologists; chief among them was Sir Thomas Lewis, who pleaded for time for the newer school, then investigating the physiology of the living heart, to give the explanation of sudden death in a cardiac patient in whom recovery has been anticipated, and hinted that ventricular fibrillation might be proved to be preceded by danger signals capable of recognition. As the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Crosby (1830-1916), was a medical man it was appropriate that a medical charity—the British Medical Benevolent Fund—should hold its annual meeting on March 13 at the Mansion House; Allbutt attended, and in his speech insisted on the numerous sacrifices of time and convenience made by medical men in the course of the discharge of their duties.

The establishment of the Cambridge Diploma in Psychological Medicine in May 1912, nine years before the Royal Colleges in London first granted a similar diploma, was largely due to his foresight and efforts. On June 4, during a debate at the General Medical Council on a recommendation of its Education Committee that the standard of the preliminary examination before entering the profession should be raised, he said that the Council would exceed

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1912, i. 653-59, 862.

their duty if they attempted to repair what had truly been described as the chaotic state of secondary education in England. When the Royal Society of Medicine instituted the Section of the History of Medicine, the late Sir William Osler was the first President and Allbutt and the late Sir Norman Moore were among the Vice-Presidents. The Section thus started with strong support from the three men who had done most in the country to popularize its subject. 1912

At the annual Congress of the Royal Institute of Public Health at Berlin on July 25-28, Allbutt gave the introductory address to the State Medicine Section, entitled "The Integration of the Social Organism",¹ and dealt with the relations between the individual and the State, with the problems of heredity, and concluded with an eloquent plea for the care of children. The British Medical Association met at Liverpool, and on July 24 in the Section of Pathology there was a discussion on Bright's disease, opened by Professor Lorrain Smith, then of Manchester, and continued by Allbutt's paper read by one of the honorary secretaries; he paid special attention to the cardio-vascular changes and the relations of granular kidney, pleading for simplification of the nomenclature of the subject, which was unnecessarily complicated by the use of different labels for the same lesion.

At the Hospital for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest, Brompton, he gave a clinical lecture on "The Relations of Pleurisy to Tubercle"². On November 1 Sir Thomas Crosby, who had created

¹ *Lancet*, 1912, ii. 283; *Journ. State Med.*, London, 1912, xx. 458.

² *Lancet*, 1912, ii. 1485-91.

1912 a double record by being the first medical man to be Lord Mayor of London and by being the oldest citizen to be elected to that office, invited eighty-five prominent members of the medical profession to meet the Presidents of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons at dinner in the Mansion House, and naturally Allbutt and Osler were present on this unique occasion.

On November 28 at the General Medical Council he moved the resolution that "the Insurance Act Committee [of the Council] be instructed to consider in the interests of medical education the means and arrangements under the Act for providing those aids to diagnosis, treatment, and research which modern pathology has made available, and be authorised to make representations to the authorities on these and any other matters arising out of the Act which come within the functions of the Council". After some discussion this was carried.

1913

For the January number of the *Practitioner*, which was specially devoted to the consideration of tuberculosis, he supplied a general introduction.¹ In the same month he wrote a graceful appreciation² of the life and work of George Alexander Gibson (1854–1913), of Edinburgh, concluding: "To me Gibson was twice a friend, a dear friend in himself, and a memorial of Gairdner, for in him much of Gairdner seemed still to live".

Before the International Historical Congress in

¹ *Practitioner*, London, 1913, xc, 1-13.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1913, i, 198.

April Allbutt gave an address on "Palissy, Baeon, and the Revival of Natural Science",¹ in which he discussed the probable intellectual relation of Bernard Palissy (1520-89) to Francis Baeon (1561-1626), and, in showing grounds for the belief that Baeon was indebted for inspiration to his senior's teaching and museum in Paris about 1576, excused the absence of any acknowledgement on Baeon's part by the explanation that "even so late as the sixteenth century plagiarism was unknown as a sin, and, by the code then prevailing, literary debts were not even debts of honour; even the honest and gentle Paré himself did not hesitate to borrow freely from the works of his contemporaries; and when in a particular instance Paré was reminded that he had drawn freely upon the work of his contemporary, De Héry, Paré calmly replied that a candle must always be lit at another candle". About this time he reviewed² under the heading "A Medieval Physician," H. P. Cholmeley's *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinæ* (1912).

On June 6 he went to Glasgow to deliver the lecture founded in memory of James Finlayson (1840-1906), "a wise physician and a gentle scholar". Taking as his subject "Byzantine Medicine",³ he showed that in the domain of science Byzantine thought was sterile, and that demonism and magic sapped the foundations of the pathology and therapeutics of that time and so of the Middle Ages, and led to a superstitious belief in drugs.

When the Medical Research Committee (National

¹ *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1913-14, vi. 233-47.

² *Nature*, London, 1913, xci. 54.

³ *Glasgow Med. Journ.*, 1913, N.S., lxxx. 321-34, 422-39; also in his *Greek Medicine in Rome, with other Historical Essays*, 1921, pp. 388-424.

1913 Health Insurance) was formed in 1913, Allbutt was one of the members, and had as colleagues Dr. (later Sir) Gowland Hopkins and as secretary Dr. (later Sir) Walter Fletcher, appointed in the spring of the following year, so that with the Chairman, the late Lord Moulton of Bank, the University of Cambridge was well represented. Until August 1914 the Committee met, often weekly, in Lord Moulton's house, and, as the minute-books show, Allbutt attended with unbroken regularity. On such an important committee with funds to promote research of all kinds bearing on health or disease, "whether or not such researches have any direct or immediate bearing on any particular disease or class of diseases", the advice of a man such as Allbutt, who had so long been insistent on the value of research carried out upon sound lines, was invaluable. Sir Walter Fletcher wrote: "He greatly aided the original Committee in forming the general design of having a limited scientific staff of their own in a central institute, while reserving the greater part of the available funds to assist work all over the country, either initiated by the Committee or proposed to them by the workers themselves". During the War he was most useful in helping the policy of segregating particular diseases for expert treatment in special centres, which became an accepted principle before the end of the War. His retirement from the Committee in August 1916 was characteristic of him; there was not any regular retiring rule, but though he was taking a most active part in the work and desired to continue to do so, he felt that some rotation in the membership was the right course, and accordingly, as the oldest member, led the way. Sir Walter Fletcher in supplying this information,

adds: "though the oldest in years, he had one of the 1913 youngest minds of them all", and that he kept in constant touch with the Committee and Council, as it became in 1919, until his death. On November 23 he wrote to Professor W. S. Thayer:

My delay in reply does not suggest to you the pleasure I always find in seeing or hearing from you, but I have been very heavily engaged in work the last three months, and still am. Among other things I am on a small sub-committee for using £57,000 a year in Medical Research for the English Government. We are starting a Research Hospital and hope also to subsidize good workers wherever in Great Britain we can hear of them. The addition to my language file is duly inserted. I am to re-edit it when I can, but I have a big book on Arteriosclerosis and Angina Pectoris in the press. This is a very egotistic letter. Some day punish me by telling me more and more about *yourself*.

In August, just before the meeting of the Seventeenth International Medical Congress in London, he attended the Fifth Annual Conference of the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, which was opened by the Prime Minister (H. H. Asquith), in spite of interruptions by suffragettes, at the Central Hall, Westminster. Allbutt spoke in the discussion of Sir Robert Philip's paper on the "Co-ordination of Antituberculosis Measures", and incidentally pointed out that tuberculosis, like other diseases, was not a definite thing, but an abstraction or a mental conception of the reaction produced by the morbid process.

In the September number of the *Classical Review*¹ he reviewed J. L. Heiberg's "Pauli Aeginetae Libri tertii Interpretatio Latina antiqua adjuvante Insti-

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1913, xxvii. 207.

1913 tuto Pusehmannio Lipsiense" (1912). In this year he received the honorary degree of D.Sc. from the University of Durham, and was appointed a Visitor of Medical Schools under the Board of Education.

1914

On January 16 he attended the annual dinner of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and, together with the late Sir William Turner, pleaded eloquently on behalf of the proposal to establish a Research Institute as a memorial to Lord Lister.

The Family Encyclopaedia of Medicine, brought out by the Harmsworths on February 26, contained articles over the names of Allbutt, Osler, and other Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of London. By what in the medical press was described as "a blazing indiscretion", the *Encyclopaedia*, with the names of the authors, was glaringly advertised in the pages of the lay press. This contravened a Resolution of the College, dated February 2, 1888:

That it is undesirable that any Fellow, Member, or Licentiate of the College should contribute articles on professional subjects to journals professing to supply medical knowledge to the general public, or should in any way advertise himself, or permit himself to be advertised in such journals.

Accordingly the Censors' Board drew the attention of those thus advertised who belonged to the College to this resolution. A meeting of the medical men concerned was held, and it appeared that they were in no way responsible for what had occurred and that they had merely read and corrected, at the request of a medical man engaged on a book on domestic

medicine, certain articles. Osler, as is set out in 1914 Cushing's *Life*,¹ took the attitude of the Censors' Board and the College very seriously, and as a protest sent in his resignation of the Fellowship, which, however, he was induced to withdraw. Allbutt appears to have treated the incident with philosophic calm.

After a fly-sheet warfare, the Senate of the University of Cambridge on March 14 approved, by 267 votes to 235, a majority of 32 only, the proposal of the special Board for Medicine to apply to the Board of Education for a grant to the Medical Department, on the ground that without immediate help of this kind it would be impossible to maintain the reasonable efficiency of the manifold departments of science, elementary and applied, which are essential parts of a great school of medicine. The fear expressed by the opposition that the acceptance of such a grant would put university teaching under the control of a Government Department eventually proved to be baseless, as indeed was prophesied during this discussion. A week later the two-day annual meeting of the Association of Physicians of Great Britain and Ireland was held for the first time in Cambridge, and Allbutt was the President. This body, limited to 250 ordinary members, was founded largely as a result of the late Sir William Osler's energy, and one of its rules runs: "No reporters shall be present, and no report of the proceedings shall be sent to the journals or newspapers". Members receive the *Quarterly Journal of Medicine*, which was started at the same time and closely connected with it. The *Journal* contains a brief record of the business and scientific proceedings

¹ Cushing, II., *Life of Sir W. Osler*, 1925, ii. 398.

1914 of the annual meetings. Before the thirty-sixth meeting of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases Allbutt gave evidence mainly on the arterial lesions which were responsible for probably 95 per cent. of the aneurysms, and might be prevented by early treatment on the most modern lines.

On May 25 he gave the Linacre Lecture at St. John's College, Cambridge, on "Public Medicine and Hospitals in Ancient Greece and Rome", which he published, under the altered title of "Public Medical Service and the Growth of Hospitals", together with other historical essays, in his volume *Greek Medicine in Rome* (1921). This Linacre Foundation, dating from 1524, is the oldest medical lectureship in the University, for the Regius Professorship of Physic was not established by Henry VIII. until 1540. The lectureship did not fulfil the pious founder's intentions and became a sinecure, being held by a resident fellow, often for long periods, and not always a medical one, for example, Matthew Prior. Among the Linacre lecturers William Heberden the elder, Thomas Watson, John Haviland, and George Paget stand out as particular stars. In 1908 a new arrangement was made whereby the appointment was held for one year only, it being "decided to invite annually a man of mark to give a single lecture on the same general plan as the Rede Lectureship" in the University, also founded in 1524. The first lecturer under this new dispensation was the late Sir William Osler, who devoted his lecture to a sympathetic consideration of the scholar-physician Thomas Linacre, and in 1913 the late Sir Norman Moore spoke of "The Physician in English History". So, in the course of five years, three scholar-physicians who had done so much in

stimulating the study of medical history in this 1914 country were Linacre lecturers. In the following year the late E. H. Starling gave the lecture on "The Law of the Heart".

In September, after the outbreak of war, he was, with other leading scientific medical men, one of the signatories of a letter urging the compulsory vaccination against enteric fever.¹ Early in the year, at a meeting of the governing body of the Lister Institute, Lord Iveagh proposed that the Institute and all its resources should be handed over to the nation as the headquarters of national medical research, and most generously offered to build a hospital in the immediate neighbourhood of the Institute, so that the Institute and the attached hospital should take the place of Mount Vernon Hospital, which the Medical Research Committee had already acquired. This proposal, though recommended by the governing body on the report of a special sub-committee, was vigorously opposed by some of the most influential members, and eventually was dropped. The rather extensive correspondence on the pros and cons included a long letter dated November 30 from Allbutt,² who was definitely in favour of the amalgamation of the Lister Institute with the Medical Research Committee.

1915

On the death of his colleague Howard Marsh, the second and last professor of surgery in the University, and Master of Downing College, Allbutt wrote an appreciation,³ saying: "Our first thoughts will be

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1914, ii. 483.

² *Ibid.*, 1914, ii. 997-98.

³ *Ibid.*, 1915, ii. 37.

1915 of the man; our thoughts of the Professor and the Master will come in the second place. Howard Marsh was a man of warm and generous affections, and these were so natural to him that he was as little self-conscious of his own goodness of heart as of his five senses."

During the war Allbutt undertook many new duties, becoming an honorary Colonel, Eastern Division R.A.M.C., and thus doing much advisory work, besides taking up regular duty in the wards of Addenbrooke's Hospital when the staff was depleted and overworked. But he did not relax his literary activities. In June he reviewed¹ Hermannus Wagner's inaugural dissertation (1914) on the question whether or not the treatise on the "Beginning of Life" is rightly ascribed to Galen, and agreed with the author of the dissertation in rejecting this view. *The Practitioners' Encyclopaedia of Medical Treatment* (1915), edited by W. Langdon Brown and the late J. Keogh Murphy, both Cambridge graduates, was dedicated to the two Regius Professors, Osler and Allbutt. It began with an introduction of five pages by Allbutt, who mentioned that it was written "on a mountain in Switzerland far away from books and papers", and so presumably some time before the outbreak of war. In September an article on "The Value of University Training as a Professional Assct"² appeared from his authoritative pen, and on December 11 he paid a graceful tribute³ to his old friend C. A. Ewald of Berlin.

His great work on *Diseases of the Arteries, including*

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1915, xxix. 115.

² *Practitioner*, London, 1915, xcv. 282.

³ *Lancet*, 1915, ii. 1372.

Angina Pectoris (2 volumes, pp. 534 and 559), which 1915
he had long been engaged on and contained the gist
of many papers and addresses, including the Lane
Lectures at San Francisco in 1898, appeared when he
was in his eightieth year, thus recalling Morgagni,
whose *De Sedibus et Causis Morborum* (1761) also
came out when the author had completed fourscore
years. In these two volumes Allbutt brought together
his mature conclusions on hyperpiesia, often called
by others essential hypertension, on which he had
written since 1895, on angina pectoris, the aortic
origin of which he had advocated from 1894, and on
arterial blood-pressure, the estimation of which was
in great measure due to his influence. After such an
effort many would have been content to let the sub-
ject alone, but not so Allbutt, for he published a
number of papers on these subjects in the remaining
ten years of his life, and left behind him a book of
some hundred pages, *Arteriosclerosis: A Summary
View* (1925). A good example of his fine and polished
style is to be found in his introduction to the subject
of angina pectoris (*Diseases of the Arteries, including
Angina Pectoris*, ii. 211):

In this secret and fell disease there is a fascination to
which no physician is a stranger, a fascination in its dramatic
events and in the riddle to be read. By angina pectoris the
humble out-patient is for the nonce lifted up into the sphere
of a Hunter or an Arnold; over him we endeavour to bring
the old discordant and mutually destructive arguments into
some consistency, ringing again the old changes on the old
bells. I too am content to compose another tune on the old
chime: still, I have the excuse, at least to myself, of an
independent endeavour, if not, as I diffidently hope, to
solve the old problems, yet at least to elucidate them by
compelling our nomenclature, our technical terms, and our

1915 current phrases to declare themselves each for what it is worth; and, no longer drifting hither and thither about the nosological field, to compel them to take up each its own rank, and no other than its own rank, in the argument. In this Section, therefore, some controversy is unavoidable; and as I must withstand adversaries better equipped than myself, I fear lest what Jurine said of Parry may be said of me, "Il nous semble que M. le Docteur a moins manqué d'indulgence pour lui-même que pour ses collègues". I would not forget Harvey's saying: "Concordia res parvae crescunt, discordia magnae dilabuntur", but I want the concord on my own side.

1916

In March, together with other colleagues at Addenbrooke's Hospital, he published a case of chronic splenic anaemia much improved by splenectomy,¹ and on May 6 he and Sir William Osler² wrote a long letter urging medical men to give their much-needed services to the Navy and Army. On May 11 he contributed to *Nature* an appreciative review³ of *Harvey's Views on the Circulation of the Blood*, by the late Professor J. G. Curtis, of Columbia University, in which he touched on the relation between the views of Aristotle and Harvey and on the "innate heat"; the latter subject he expanded in his article for the collection of *Contributions to Medical and Biological Research, dedicated to Sir William Osler in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday*, 1919. It may be noted that Osler also reviewed Curtis's book, in the *Lancet* (1916, i. 416). Allbutt recorded, with a pathological report by Professor H. M. Turnbull of the London

¹ Allbutt, C., Humphry, L., Deighton, F., and Hare, D., *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1916, i. 365.

² *Lancet*, 1916, i. 972.

³ *Nature*, 1916, xevii. 217.

Hospital, a case of syphilitic disease of the aorta.¹ 1916
As a member of an Advisory Committee of the National Insurance Act, Allbutt, with others, had been successful in obtaining a large increase in the payment made to medical men; this he mentioned in a letter² dated September 14, 1916, pointing out in reply to letters and appeals in the medical press that, except as a member of the large Advisory Committee, he had not had anything to do with the initiation, general provisions, or workings of the Act.

In July he wrote two separate appreciations³ of R. W. Michell (1860–1916), the medical authority, guide, and friend of rowing men at Cambridge, who died in France from the effect of shell wounds received while carrying in wounded from the firing line. Michell, as already mentioned, had provided a special section dealing with the effect of hard physical exercise on the heart of young men in Allbutt's article on "Overstress of the Heart" in the second edition of his *System of Medicine* (1909, vi. 193–252).

On September 7 the Educational Supplement of "The Times" contained a letter, under the heading "Classics *versus* Science", from him sternly indicting the teaching at the Public Schools, and declaring that the average young man comes up to the University with his mind empty of all scholastic knowledge, classical and scientific, and without any command of English. As he had said before, "the science we need is a scientific method of teaching all things". This letter brought him much correspondence and requests for an illustration of "the scientific method of teaching all things"; to these he replied at some

¹ *Lancet*, 1916, i. 1033.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1916, ii. 438.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1916, ii. 156; *Lancet*, 1916, ii. 252.

1916 length on October 15, saying that "all schoolmasters should be imbued equally with the humane and the scientific habit of mind", that "we need science in our classics as we need humanity in our science", and that "for English boys the concrete must come first, the abstract afterwards, a lesson they try to teach their masters; yet in customary classical teaching the boy is started upon remote and subtle abstractions". In a third, and the longest, letter on November 16, he pointed out that the scientific method is to combine demonstration of the concrete with the abstract, and thought that Baden Powell's method of teaching boy scouts illustrated the right way of doing this; that in teaching Latin and Greek these languages should be used as means of communication; and that to regenerate all teaching by the scientific method is much more important than the inculcation of special sciences. These three letters were afterwards published in pamphlet form.¹ In July of the next year he followed the subject up by a letter to the Educational Supplement of "The Times", in which he instanced the case of not a few evidently good men who, although they did their paper work well in the Cambridge 1st M.B., having learnt their subject by heart, often failed utterly in the practical work because they had not had the opportunity of previously carrying it out.

In his obituary notice in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* of Sir Thomas Lauder Brunton (1844-1916), who died on September 16, 1916, in the middle of the war, Allbutt wrote: "It appears that, for some years past, from his intimate knowledge of the German people, Brunton had foreseen their propen-

¹ *Science in the School*, 22 cm., Cambridge, pp. 20, 1917.

sity, sooner or later, to force a war upon this country. 1916
He feared, however, that we should never submit to conscription, unless possibly in a crisis such as the present. For this reason, and in furtherance of his scientific work on hygiene and dietetics, he founded the National League for Physical Education and Improvement, an organisation devoted to the nurture, from infancy upwards, of a healthy, vigorous, and high-spirited people. The League, it is to be hoped, is now so far established in the public favour and interest as to survive the loss of its leader. The fulfilment of its purpose would be his most signal memorial."

From November until the early weeks of 1917 there was a somewhat vigorous correspondence in the *British Medical Journal* on the perennial question of the fees of physicians and surgeons. It began by the following quotation from a letter of Sir Lauder Brunton: "The whole question of the remuneration of the medical profession and of its various branches will naturally give rise to much discussion. For example, I have of late years frequently been consulted in regard to abdominal operations. The question, Shall an operation be performed or not? has been left entirely in my hands, and on the correctness of my answer the life of the patient has depended. Yet for my advice I received the fee of three guineas. If an operation was necessary, the surgeon received a hundred guineas." The late Dr. Charles Mercier wrote suggesting that a physician on the consulting staff of a hospital should charge five guineas for a consultation and ten guineas for one lasting an hour, and by referring to physicians as the higher branch of the profession, stimulated surgical and other com-

1916 ment, to which he gleefully responded. Sir Clifford entered into the "antique, if not ancient," controversy which, he said, had returned in the somewhat sordid guise of a battle of fees, and attempted to raise the discussion to a higher level by reverting to the artificial separation of medicine from surgery, which he had fully set out in his address at the St. Louis Congress in 1904 on "The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery to the end of the Sixteenth Century". "How long", he asked, "are we to go on, as by a Solomon's schism, cutting maladies in halves and distributing one moiety to one professor, the other to another, without laughter or tears?"¹

On December 9 he gave an address² to the annual meeting of the North Staffordshire Medical Society on "The Work of the National Medical Research Committee", from which he had just retired, having been an original member in 1913. The history of the establishment of this Committee and of its activities, which had naturally been so much disturbed by the outbreak of war, was set out and showed "the intense vitality of the movement and of the army of workers". It expressed his belief that "in the next twenty years, as in the last twenty, medicine will be so enlarged and illuminated in many directions that the art and science will be again transformed. And upon these new conceptions, new discoveries, and new auxiliaries will be based a new therapeutics to give us a command over disease as great again as that ascendancy which already has distinguished our own generation."

In 1916 the War Office and the Medical Research

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1916, ii. 855.

² *Ibid.*, 1916, ii. 785.

Committee established a special hospital for disorders of the soldier's heart at Hampstead, where Dr. (now Sir) Thomas Lewis was a whole-time worker, and Allbutt, Osler, and James Mackenzie were appointed as an Advisory Committee and consultant physicians; in 1917 it was arranged that cases from France should be sent direct to the hospital and not, as hitherto, indirectly through hospitals in this country. In the autumn of that year the clinic was transferred to the Military Hospital at Colechester, where there was a team of keen workers, including American medical officers, such as B. S. Oppenheimer, M. A. Rothschild, and S. A. Levine, specially interested in cardiology. A great deal of the valuable work done here was published. The consultants paid visits to the hospital; a distinguished American physician writes about Allbutt: "I treasure the memories of his visits. He always seemed so gentle, and it also seemed as if he was particularly courteous to the early Americans who were attached to the Hospital". This was no one-sided or a transient feeling, for in reply to a letter from Dr. S. A. Levine raising the question of the relation of angina pectoris and auricular fibrillation, Allbutt wrote on September 24, 1922: "I am pleased to receive your letter, indeed anything to remind me of my former colleagues at Colechester is more than welcome. I was delighted to find them there, and before at Hampstead; they were 'live wires'. I am gratified by your cases now mentioned and the pamphlet, because I have just been, and am, in correspondence with James Mackenzie herein, and he has sent me some cases to discuss with him." On January 29, 1925, shortly before his death, he wrote on receipt

1916 of a monograph on the surgical treatment of mitral stenosis:

MY DEAR DR. LEVINE—It is nice to receive a greeting from you. The pamphlet came just before I was to lecture (I did so) on mitral stenosis. So I handed the book round the class and thence it goes on the table of our Medical School Library. It is a bold enterprise, but so was ovariectomy, as I too well remember. All well herein. Our best wishes to you and yours.—Yours very sincerely,

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

When a new word seemed desirable for the condition described in military nomenclature as “disordered action of the heart” (D.A.H.) and now known as “effort syndrome”, Sir Clifford was consulted and wrote to Sir Walter Fletcher:

The ancients would have used the word *παλμός*. I have not looked up other words as I feel pretty sure that this was the proper word in the best (Hippocrates’, etc.) time, and if you wish, as presumably you do, to bring in prominently the neurotic side, *neuropalmos*, or to coin a word *neuropalmosis* (I think the form *πάλμωσις* does not exist, but it is quite a legitimate form, and would mean neurotic pulsation). This leaves out the dyspnoea and also effort (*πόνος*) of course, but one cannot get it all in.

Two days later he wrote a card to say: “You may prefer to omit *neuro-* in favour of *effort* and thus get *ponopalmosis*”.

In this year he reviewed¹ at length three commentaries of Galen edited by J. Newaldt, G. Helmreich, and J. Westerberger (1914).

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1916, xxx. 84.

1917

The question whether or not to maintain Greek 1917 as a compulsory subject in the Previous Examination at Cambridge, which had been debated in 1880 and 1891, came up again in 1904 and subsequent years until the question was finally decided by making Greek optional on January 17, 1919. With his keen interest in educational problems, Allbutt took an active part in the debates and signed several memorials to the Council of the Senate during the prolonged discussion on this subject. On February 23, 1917, he signed a memorial expressing "disappointment that the Council of the Senate, while recording their opinion 'that the question of compulsory Greek is one of practical urgency at the present time', have yet decided to take no immediate action with regard to its position in the Previous Examination. It is now generally recognized, even by those formerly in favour of compulsion, that, in the altered circumstances of the Nation, Greek must be made optional. We believe that to delay in this matter till the war ends will probably inflict grave injury on the future of the University, and on the educational welfare of the country as a whole. We respectfully ask the Council to reconsider their decision". This question was also under consideration at Oxford, where, after Greek was maintained as a compulsory subject in Responsions on June 17, 1919, a statute abolishing compulsory Greek in this examination, which corresponds to the Previous, was approved by Convocation by 434 to 359 votes on March 2, 1920.

In the *Medical Press and Circular* (1917, N.S., ciii. 199), under the heading of "Letters to Eminent

1917 Persons", which somewhat resemble the "Intercepted Letters" written in the *Lancet* a hundred years ago by James Wardrop (1782-1869), there was a laudatory but at the same time not very respectful one addressed to the Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge over the signature of "Cereris". It contained an attack on the Royal College of Physicians of London, and in addressing Allbutt as a happy combination of the scholar and man of the world, learned but cosmopolitan, urbane but detached and dignified, said that this note of detachment enabled him "to be Censor of the Royal College of Physicians without becoming in any degree soiled by the soot of snobbery which hangs like a pall over Pall Mall East to concentrate, ever and anon, in comic negro minstrelsy upon the Censors' Board. They never made you their president, these paltry panjandrums,¹ because they dared not." This raises the question why neither Allbutt nor Osler was elected President of the College. That Osler was not unthought of is shown by his letter to a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in January 1915, when Sir T. Barlow was approaching the end of the usual five years as President and consideration was naturally being given to the selection of his successor, who turned out to be the late Sir Frederic Taylor, elected on Monday March 28, the day after Palm Sunday. Osler² wrote: "I think the

¹ The word "panjandrums" was applied by Dr. Leonard Williams to the members of the Censors' Board (vide *Med. Press and Circ.*, 1916, N.S., cii. 463), and was of course taken from the nonsense lines constructed by Samuel Foote (1720-77), actor and dramatist, in order to test the statement of old Charles Macklin (1697?-1797), the actor, that he could memorize anything by hearing it once.

² *Life of Sir William Osler*, by Harvey Cushing, 1925, vol. ii, p. 462.

President of the College should be a man resident in 1917 London. I have had enough of these things and am not especially ambitious in this direction. To tell you the truth, I think the business would bore me to death. All the same, it is awfully good of some of the Fellows to think of me." Although documentary proof is not forthcoming, it was certainly felt before the War by some Fellows that Allbutt should be President, if only for one year. The real reason why no Fellow resident away from London has, at any rate for two and a half centuries, been elected President of the College is the amount of business which falls on the President and really necessitates almost constant attention. This is perhaps fully realized only by those who have occupied the chair and by the permanent officers of the College. It takes a new President some months to get into the routine and, as continuity is obviously desirable, this consideration must have weighed against election for a year as a desirable tribute to such outstanding personalities as Allbutt and Osler. It is true that Francis Glisson (1597-1677), who was Regius Professor at Cambridge from 1636 to 1675 when he was obliged to appoint Dr. Brady as his deputy, was President of the College from 1667 to 1670, but the demands made by these two offices then were slight as compared with those at the present time, and it would appear that Glisson lived a good deal in London. On the other hand at the Royal College of Surgeons of England a country Fellow, Sir Berkeley (afterwards Lord) Moynihan, was elected President in 1926, and Leeds is much further than Cambridge from London.

In the *Classical Review* he wrote a long notice of Galen's *Natural Faculties*, translated by Dr. J. A.

1917 Brock for Loeb's Classical Library (1916). In August Allbutt was in the Lake District at Ullswater and writes to Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison: "Just a card to acknowledge your pleasant letter and the announcement of the second edition which you are so good as to propose to send to me. You may well be busy."

In the second half of 1917 there was a voluminous correspondence in the *Lancet*, evoked by Dr. G. A. Sutherland's Lumleian Lectures at the Royal College of Physicians of London on "The Modern Aspects of Heart Disease", in which James Mackenzie and Allbutt were prominent protagonists, two of Mackenzie's letters occupying four columns and Allbutt responding with four and two and a half columns. In one of these letters, under the heading of the "Lumleian Lectures and Medical Research", Allbutt¹ said that he was replying to Mackenzie's criticism of "the Old School" (which he presumed included himself) who reasoned from clinical rather than from experimental data. This correspondence between two friends, Mackenzie in private letters sometimes addressing Allbutt as "My dear Master", for example, in a letter now in the Royal College of Physicians' collection of autographs, recalls their correspondence in the pages of the *British Medical Journal* in 1911 on the subject of cardiac asthma (*vide* p. 151).

The Reverend K. Jameson, Vicar of the Church of St. Edward the King, just behind King's Parade in Cambridge, encouraged laymen to give occasional addresses to his congregation. On Sunday, November 11, the church was crowded to hear Allbutt preach;

¹ *Lancet*, 1917, ii. 172.

and of this sermon the vicar wrote: "The memory of 1917 it will persist in that audience. It was a statement of the reasonable faith of a scientific man. In the simple language of clear thought, and with his own indescribable charm of manner, he traced the lines of thought and feeling along which he himself had gradually arrived at that faith, and in that sermon were united the essences of a severe thinker and a great gentleman."

This seems to be the first of several similar sermons in subsequent years delivered in Leeds, Dewsbury, and Cambridge, which will be noted later. Allbutt was humble and deeply religious, but so reticent in this respect that many who thought they knew him well had not any acquaintance with this side of his life. Though bred up in the atmosphere of the Church, his early years of manhood and impressionability were characterized by much controversy on the relations of religion and science, stimulated by the appearance of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). But, in spite of the difficulty, greater then than before or since, and of his eminence in medical science, which has so often exerted an influence in the direction of materialism and agnosticism, he remained unshaken in his faith. Those who knew his religious convictions will probably agree with the description, given in Archdeacon J. W. Hunkin's sermon on March 1, 1925, that "among the religious he stood for scientific method: among scientists for religious faith", and that "no man ever came nearer to the ideal of what a Regius Professor of Physic should be in a University like this". He was a frequent communicant in Caius College chapel on Sunday mornings, was a great-souled man with much

1917 spiritual experience, and fond of the text "living in the courts of the Lord" and all it implied, but withal he seemed at times something of a mystic. Bishop Talbot wrote of him as one "who with his great scientific strength combined, and was at pains to show that he combined, a strong and simple faith in the Divine ordering".

His interest in theological questions is shown in the following letter (December 14, 1922) to Professor J. F. Bethune-Baker, who had sent him some expositions of Troeltsch's ideas by F. von Hügel in response to an inquiry:

Many thanks for von Hügel's tract. I have read it several times over; it is a hard nut to crack—if indeed I have cracked it. It is magnificent rolling rhetoric, and at the end one asks oneself how much more it may be. The "manner" is splendid, what of the matter? And here I am referring both to von Hügel and Troeltsch. One principle is no doubt the vindication of the internal spontaneity of the Christian idea, as contrasted with exclusive use of the New Testament. Another is the esteem of personal values, the consummation in what I would call Person, not "personality"—a vague abstract term. There is a curious medieval turn, or even core, in many paragraphs. And he relies on the, to me, empty word "Absolute"—which surely consists only in a sum of negations. You will think Einstein a very arid prophet, but I admit that I owe much to him, especially in the "time dimension"; which makes, I think, for the spiritual side of creation; time being a form of thought, and probably only a mode of human thinking. Many years ago I got into a scrape with Swete and others for urging the relativity of all human cosmic argument, in an address to his ordination candidates. Many years before that I had felt this when as a passenger observing the relative motions of two trains passing along parallel lines but at different speeds. It seems to me that only by Einstein can we get rid of Copernicus

and the geologists! But I am taking advantage of your good nature and must shut up. 1917

On another occasion, dealing with the relation of conduct to popular opinion, he deprecated any attempt to seek the favour of others and went on to show that the only course was: "to WORK WITH *the Holy Spirit*, as fellow workers; and if we do this, and oftentimes a day (if but momentarily), we lift up our hearts, the light shines within, and we feel *at least* NEAR *us*, the peace which passeth *all* understanding. I never take to the adorative adjective 'Almighty'—but believe the Spirit of God is working out his purposes *under conditions* (unknown to us), and we are fellow workers with him, *towards* perfection somehow and somewhere."

Allbutt was much in sympathy with the Society of Friends, as is shown by a letter dated July 27, 1924, to a member of the Society of Friends, in which he wrote:

If I had a fresh start in life, I should be of your body; you are nearer Christ than any other communion. Acton used to say "How can I leave a church in which I was born, baptized, and married, and with which all my life has been inextricably bound up—tendrils everywhere". So I feel in and with the Church of England, distressing as is the tide of superstition and sacerdotalism which is now flowing over it. Happily there are more than "ten thousand" of us who will not bow down to this Baal! You have probably forgotten that once—when I was going on to a meeting of the Archbishop's Faith Healing Committee—you said to me, as a last word, coming from above as I descended the stairs—"Remember God always answers prayer, though it may not be in the way we looked for". For years I had prayed and yearned for "a sign"—a touch—a vision—if only one. It never came; I was never pure enough; but since your words

1917 I have found it in a general uplifting and interpenetration of my life by the indwelling Spirit. . . . I often go—or went; my deafness in public meetings now discourages me—to Quakers' meetings. Even still, if I don't hear, the very air is aglow with the Spirit—and the people so humane and friendly. Perhaps it is best when some plain homely man or woman speaks to us. And yet—one is sadly shaken by what must be the deeds of an *Evil Spirit*? I am more than half Manichean.

The same sympathy with the followers of George Fox (1624–91), “the Founder of Quakerism”, is shown in the following letter written to the same friend on May 15, 1921:

ST. RADEGUNDS, CAMBRIDGE.

An occasional “Friends' Quarterly” is very welcome. It was hardly possible to tackle the volume of appreciations of Keats which descended from the critical firmament upon us, and I was thankful tranquilly to read yours, which I am sure gave me all that the rest contained, of vision and essence. The Cambridge Platonists have always interested me much; and the article on Henry More was also good reading. It is not easy to judge between dedication *in* the world, and dedication *out* of the world; with cloistered virtue I am less in sympathy, and am no doubt faulty in this respect. But the Friends seem to me to solve the difficulty; the soul is carried into the workaday world. Like Jesus Christ, they receive publicans and sinners and eat with them. I can never quite get over the superfine dedication of Thomas à Kempis, who says that he never went out into the world without bringing back a stain on his soul.

1918

At this time Allbutt became the first President of 1918 the Papworth Village Settlement for tuberculosis. After his death a fund was collected for the erection of two cottages—the Clifford Allbutt Memorial Cottages, which were declared open on May 18, 1928, during a visit of the Prince of Wales. The memorial stone on the cottages reads as follows:

ERECTED
to the
Perpetual
Memory
of

THE RIGHT HON. SIR CLIFFORD ALLBUTT,
K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S.,

Regius Professor of Physic in the
University of Cambridge, 1892–1925.

President of the Papworth Village Settlement,
1918–1925.

A scholar-physician, an inspiring leader, and
a beloved humanist.

“Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save . . .”

Dr. P. C. Varricr-Jones, the Medical Director of Papworth, wrote:

In the early days there were enormous difficulties to be overcome, and whenever I had any of these difficulties which stumped me, they were immediately solved by his wonderful knowledge of the world and his great intuition as to the right methods of approach, and his keen intellectual grasp of the problem. I do not think we could have made the progress we have without his guiding hand and it was because he instinctively knew what line of action to take that we

1918 were so successful in laying the foundation-stones on which we have built ever since.

He never bothered himself about any detail. Any broad issue I had to discuss with him was discussed quickly, frankly, and with sure and certain knowledge as if he had been familiar with all my little problems and had all the detail at his finger-tips. Knowing as I did that he had lots and lots of work to do, it was always a matter of astonishment to me that without any preliminary manœuvring he gave me his undivided attention at once. . . . I never wrote a letter which he did not answer by return of post.

In the March and September numbers of the *Classical Review*¹ he noticed at some length two translations of Theophrastus; the first was Sir Arthur F. Hort's *Theophrastus' Enquiry into Plants and minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs*, and the second, Professor G. M. Stratton's edition and translation of *Theophrastus and the Greek physiological Psychology before Aristotle*. This reading was utilized in his *Greek Medicine in Rome* (1921), as is shown by the text and references.

Sir George Newman's Memorandum on Medical Education in England to the President of the Board of Education was reviewed at some length and in highly appreciative terms by Allbutt,² who began by saying that "Medicine as a function of civil society has come late into the field. The Church, on its secular side, and the Law gained power and influence while room and gear were yet simple. Late comers at a feast have a cool reception. . . . To attempt even a survey of this large and rich contribution to the new birth of medical education is out of the question." He welcomed the emphasis laid on the general practi-

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1918, xxxii. 36, 117.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1918, ii. 113-15.

tioner as the foundation of medicine in this country, 1918 and parenthetically expressed the wish that there were a better name for these medical men, such as the good old one of physician still preserved in the United States. Stress was then laid on the want of correlation between different branches, thus "the pathologist, not by any means of his own fault, is compelled by his divorce from the clinical wards to work in a balloon". Preventive medicine, too, by the water-tight compartments between different branches of research, was in danger of becoming sterile. Bridges should be built between physics, bio-chemistry, and clinical medicine. Clinical medicine was taught almost wholly as an art rather than a science, and if clinical medicine is to advance there must be properly endowed professors with efficient laboratories and assistants devoting the greater part of their time to teaching and research; he had "often spoken of Harley Street as the grave of the great clinical teachers of the London hospitals".

In March he published notes from a clinical lecture on a case of Huntington's chorea,¹ mentioning that this was the fourth example of this rare disease that he had seen; he shortly afterwards supplemented this by a brief memorandum on a patient suffering from "shell-shock", but superficially resembling Huntington's chorea.² He also wrote letters on thrombosis and embolism³ and on pneumonia and toxæmia.⁴

The late J. G. Adami's Croonian Lectures on "Adaptation and Disease", delivered before the Royal College of Physicians of London in June 1917, and published at the time in the medical press, thereby

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1918, i. 389.

² *Ibid.*, 1918, i. 413.

³ *Ibid.*, 1918, i. 385.

⁴ *Lancet*, 1918, i. 467.

1918 giving rise to a rather vigorous correspondence with Sir E. Ray Lankester, were published, together with other papers dating back to 1892 on the same subject, under the title *Medical Contributions to the Study of Evolution* (1918). Adami, when working with the late Professor C. S. Roy in Cambridge, had come in friendly contact with the then recently appointed Regius Professor of Physic, and gracefully recalled his association in the dedication of this volume to Allbutt as "Physician, Philosopher and Friend who, as Regius Professor, presided over the Delivery of the earliest of these Studies—it and its Offspring". The earliest paper here mentioned, "On the Variability of Bacteria and the Development of Races", was the subject of Adami's thesis for the degree of M.D. at Cambridge in 1892.

In September, after ten months' hard work which had tired him out, Allbutt took a holiday in the Lake District. He wrote from the Ullswater Hotel, Patterdale, to Dr. J. A. Wright on September 17: "We move homewards to-morrow after three weeks of the worst weather I ever remember. Rain every day and all day mostly. Still, even in tears, the country is fascinating, and three-quarters of a century of climbing about the fells makes me loyal to them even in adversity. Meanwhile I have made way in editing my FitzPatrick lectures." These lectures at the Royal College of Physicians of London on "The History of Medicine", delivered in 1909–10, and published in the medical journals at the time, were now much expanded, and, together with other historical essays, published in 1921 as *Greek Medicine in Rome* (Macmillans, pp. 633).

In the autumn of 1918 a clinical lecture given by

him at Addenbrooke's Hospital on "Renal Dropsy"¹ 1918 appeared; it dealt with the treatment recommended in 1917 by A. A. Epstein of the Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, whom he had met some years before, of chronic parenchymatous nephritis by a diet containing large quantities of protein with a minimum of carbohydrates and exclusion of fats. At this time, with the late Sir William Osler and Sir George Newman, he was preparing the ground for a serious consideration of the establishment of whole-time professors of medicine and clinical units.

1919

The world was now busy in the process of reconstruction after the War, and Cambridge was not behindhand in this respect. Among other matters which took time and thought was the initiation of a Diploma in Medical Radiology and Electrology (D.M.R.E.) which was established by a Grace of the Senate on June 17. As in the case of the Diploma in Public Health, established in 1875, Cambridge led the way, which has been followed elsewhere; Diplomas in Public Health are given by a number of bodies, such as that granted jointly by the Royal Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons in London, but the University of Liverpool and more recently that of Edinburgh are the only other bodies in Great Britain that thus encourage a high standard in radiology. The establishment of this Diploma in Cambridge was followed in 1920 by that of a Lectureship in Medical Radiology and Electrology, held by the late Dr. F. Shillington Scales until 1927 and then by Dr. A. E.

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1918, ii. 395.

1919 Barclay, previously (1921–28) lecturer in Radiology in the Victoria University of Manchester.

At the annual meeting of the British Medical Association in 1914, at Aberdeen, the choice of the President-elect for the meeting designed to be held in Cambridge in 1915 naturally fell on the Regius Professor. The War prevented any regular annual meeting until 1920, when the postponed meeting at Cambridge took place under the presidency of Allbutt, who thus occupied this office for the unparalleled period of six years. But on April 10–11, 1919, a successful Clinical and Scientific Meeting, intended to deal with the lessons taught by the War, instead of the usual annual meeting in July, was held in London under his presidency, and he gave an address on medicine in the twentieth century entitled “The New Birth of Medicine”,¹ thus really completing the account of medicine from the time of the early Greeks which he had given in various articles and addresses during his long life of activity. He dwelt on the light thrown upon Medicine by physics, and said: “We cannot even guess at the links of the chains where physics recede and bio-chemistry takes the lead”. He mentioned the rich harvest which Medicine had reaped in the recent war from bio-chemistry, and after pointing out that the working medical man cannot be a bio-chemist, urged that in every good clinical school there should be whole-time professors with properly equipped laboratories and staffs, who should be “continually irrigating the profession from the sponge of pure science”. After further insisting on the importance of linking up the laboratory with the wards he went on: “If I am not a practical man I am

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1919, i. 433-8.

nothing, but still I am convinced that only by dis- 1919
interested research on the large, patient, and prophetic lines of the pure sciences can progress be made. . . . So complete and mischievous, however, has been the barrier between research and the industry of Medicine that a reaction from 'laboratorism' to symptomatology has set in, because there are no intermediary workers—no engineers—between the knowledge getters and the knowledge dealers. Thus we see the laboratory investigators completely out of touch with practice, and practitioners faithless of theoretical principles—just 'Philistines'. A few years ago my own University, or certain members of it, discouraged the establishment of a brewing school for which endowments were offered; utterly ignorant and careless as they were that Pasteur's great discoveries began in the wine vat."

Writing on endurance in aortic insufficiency¹ he quoted two cases of long duration, one of which he had watched for twenty-five years, and laid stress on the bad prognosis when extrasystoles make their appearance, such cases being prone to terminate by sudden death. To the fifth and posthumous edition of Sir Hermann Weber's *Longevity and the Means for the Prolongation of Life*, he wrote a charming preface, giving some reminiscences of his friend, who, like himself, was an alpine climber long after what for most people would be an unusual age.

When on July 11, 1919, to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of Sir William Osler's birth (July 12, 1849), his friends made a presentation of two volumes of scientific contributions specially written for the occasion by one hundred and fifty of them, Allbutt,²

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1919, i. 85.

² *Ibid.*, 1919, ii. 80.

1919 as his brother Regius, was appropriately selected to express the affection of the great body of subscribers on both sides of the Atlantic.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE—To me, as one of your oldest friends in time, and perhaps the oldest in age, has fallen the honour of announcing our celebration of your seventieth birthday—one anniversary of many years of supreme service in two kindred nations and for the world. The last lustrum of your threescore and ten, if now merged in victory, has been a time of war and desolation, of broken peoples, and stricken homes; yet through this clamour and destruction your voice, among the voices in the serener air of faith and truth, has not failed, nor your labour for the sufferings of others grown weary.

But, while thus we celebrate your leadership in the relief of sickness and adversity, we are far from forgetting the sunnier theme—the debt, none the less, which we owe to you in other fields of thought. In you we see the fruitfulness of the marriage of science and letters, and the long inheritance of a culture which, amid the manifold forms of life, and through many a winter and summer, has survived to inspire and adorn a civilization which so lately has narrowly escaped the fury of the barbarian.

And now I will not avoid a topical allusion—an allusion to your recent presidential address to the Classical Association at Oxford; an address which, in its various learning, its wisdom, and its wit, brilliantly illustrated this fecundity of letters and science, embodied the common spirit of science and art, conferred a distinction upon our profession.

In these volumes we hope you will find the kind of offering from your fellow workers which will please you best—immaterial offerings indeed, but such as may outlive a more material gift. As to you we owe much of the inspiration of these essays, and as in many of their subjects you have taken a bountiful part, so by them we desire to give some form of our common interests and affections.

We pray that health and strength may long be spared

to you and to her who is the partner of your life; and that 1919
for many years to come you will abide in your place as a
Nestor of modern Oxford, as a leader in the van of Medicine,
and as an example to us all.

In the course of his reply Osler said, "To you, Sir Clifford, in fuller measure than to any one in our generation, has been given a rare privilege: to you, when young, the old listened as eagerly as do now, when old, the young. Like Hai ben Yagzan of Avicenna's allegory, you have wrought deliverance to all with whom you have come in contact." The autograph manuscripts of these two speeches are in the Osler Library at McGill University (*Bibliotheca Osleriana*, No. 7659).

The two volumes, which were not actually finished and published until the end of December, contained a scholarly article by Allbutt on "The Innate Heat", and were prefaced by his charming proem:

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE—The stealthy foot of Time carries us from youth to age so imperceptibly that we are hardly aware of the change; insensibly we shorten our arms, husband our strength, and are willing to think our prowess undiminished. Yet men have not refrained from marking the lapse of time by signal days, and months, and years; often by celebration of those whose lives have been devoted to the good of their kind, often by memorials of joy and achievement, or again of bitter and unforgotten sorrow.

And, as for the nation or the race, so in his own life, are there for each of us memorable days of sympathy in joy and sorrow. One day of sympathy in joy was that in the summer of 1904, when some of us were gathered around the hospitable hearth of Sir John and Lady Burdon-Sanderson, and, as suddenly, I believe, to you as to others of us, like a flash of light the thought was born, how, one scarcely knew, that you might surrender your great functions at Baltimore to enter upon a new life at Oxford.

1919 Ever in the heart of the folk of the New World lies warm and deep kinship with the old home; thus, almost with the rapidity of thought, between Canada, the United States, and Great Britain an aademic link threefold was forged. In no person as well as in your own could this unity have been so happily consummated; you arrived indeed from overseas but as a pilgrim child of Oxford. In you the literary and historical tradition of the beautiful city was united with the zeal and adventure of the New World; so that in winning you for Oxford, and for Cambridge and Great Britain, we did no robbery to Baltimore and Montreal.

Since that day we have shared, in our degrees, your happiness and your sadness; we have rejoiced in your honours, and on this day, when you reach the limit that the men of old regarded as the last ripeness of a man's life, I, your brother Regius Professor, am permitted to offer to you from both worlds, as a tribute of admiration and affection, our little horn, if not of plenty, yet of the best of our gardens.

Your "radical humours contain more than sufficient Oyl for seventy years"; oyl enough to keep your lamp trimmed and bright till the old world, now tardily procreant, be brought again to the birth. Meanwhile, in good days or evil, you can thankfully say after our great Example—"My Father works hitherto and I work".—Affectionately yours,

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

CAMBRIDGE, *July*, 1919.

To the Memorial Number of Appreciations and Reminiscences of Sir William Osler of the International Association of Medical Museums (Bulletin No. ix.), edited by Maude E. Abbott, published in 1926, he wrote another charming proem, the final revision of the page proof of which arrived only a few days before his own death. It began:

I was under the belief that I knew William Osler well, intimately, almost as a brother; now I am learning how

much I was mistaken. I did not know the half of him. I 1919 wonder if he himself realized all of that many-chambered mind of his, all of those many accomplishments! We others, who knew a little of his scientific researches, of his riches of knowledge, of his jewels of art and letters, we, in too many of these pursuits, were little more than children fascinated by precious stones; soon tired or tempted away we poured them back into the bowl, and forgot them. Osler diligently fashioned them all one by one into his patterns, adding group to group until none of us knew the full extent of his possessions.

A little further on he wrote:

A perusal of some advanced sheets of Professor Cushing's biography sets Osler before us in a bright light, not only as a practised and ardent worker in this field [of zoology], but also as a pioneer; and yet one so modest that, although myself an old friend of George Busk, G. H. Lewes, and other former leaders in the study of polyzoa in England, I had no notion of Osler's standing and researches in this branch of science. . . . Osler did not accumulate books as a hobby only; he knew them inside and out, and, moreover intended them for that great service whither now they are being consigned. One day when I said to him, "You seek for the first edition of a book, I seek for the last", he truly replied, "I want both".

He also wrote the dedication, in the form of a letter, to the volume of *Essays on the History of Medicine presented to Karl Sudhoff on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, November 26, 1923*, edited by Charles Singer and Henry E. Sigerist. In it he said:

Many years have elapsed since we met at the table of our lamented friend, William Osler, in whom the world has lost one of its most brilliant teachers of Medical History. At that time I remember you had already established at Leipzig the Institute of Medical History which, as a monument of your eminent career, and of our debt to you, will stand only

1919 lower than the monument of your many achievements. . . . Your knowledge of your subject and your original researches, beyond those of any other living man, are so vast that it is hard to say what parts of an infinite subject have not been enriched by your pen.

In August and September the Allbutts were in Yorkshire, at Harrogate first and then at Scarborough. On August 10 he wrote to Sir George Newman on the subject of whole-time professors in medical units, a project which had been making considerable way, saying that "if the hospitals expect to find full-grown candidates for professorships they will not get them, or but one here and there of self-seeded saplings. To have candidates as required means a nursery (and I may add skilled cultivators). Nearly all men of any maturity have committed themselves to private adventure and, even if disposed to change their whole plan of life, are probably spoiled for academic work. I see no way but to back some *young* man—keen and of intellectual promise, and trust to luck—say a man of twenty-eight or thirty. It is a chancy way, but so far as I see, the only way. Then as staffs become established and flourish they will breed and grow their own successors."

On Thursday, October 16, he preached before an audience containing many medical men a sermon for St. Luke's day in Leeds Parish Church from the text, "Were those upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem?" (St. Luke xiii. 2, 3, and 4), and insisted on the importance of preventive medicine, pointing out that epidemics of disease are not manifestations of an offended deity but the consequence of the nation's want of wisdom. At the Commemoration of Benefactors on the last

Sunday in October, he preached the customary sermon 1919 in the chapel of Gonville and Caius College.

In November he was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine in company with the late Sir William Osler, three Presidents of the Royal Society—Sir J. J. Thomson and his successors, Sir Charles Sherrington and Sir Ernest Rutherford—the late Sir Patrick Manson, the late Sir William Macewen, the late S. G. Shattock, Sir A. E. Wright, Professor Karl Pearson, Emile Roux of the Pasteur Institute, W. W. Keen of Philadelphia, and George Crile of Cleveland, Ohio.

“The Times” of December 8 contained a letter from him, headed “Medical Research: the Claims of Comparative Pathology”, in which he said: “To establish in Cambridge a central Institute of Comparative Pathology, which must include professorial units for the diseases of plants and animals and the means of blending these departments with the neighbouring departments of the diseases of man, will no doubt cost much money, but a sum which, when compared only with the waste and destruction of stock and crops, which I have deplored, would prove to be small indeed. Such is the utilitarian promise; but far beyond this we cannot tell how bright will be the cross lights which in a system of comparative medicine will be thrown reciprocally upon the fields of the several pathologies of all kinds of life.”

Under the heading of “Medicine and the People: A Review of some Latter-day Tracts”,¹ thus reminding the reader of Thomas Carlyle, he wrote an essay on Sir George Newman’s two publications—*Some Notes on Medical Education in England* (1918) and

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1919, ii. 763.

1919 *An Outline of Preventive Medicine* (1919). He drew attention to the width of the problem of disease, and defining disease as a failure in the equilibrium that constitutes health, or some disorder in the interplay, picturesquely continued: "Some actor in the drama, on the one side or the other, has missed his cue, or struck the wrong note; or some foreign actor has thrust himself upon the stage. The result is that the interplay, the dynamic balance, attained in the continuity of readjustments over many ages, is disordered or upset." Sir James Mackenzie's attractive plea for the investigation of the beginnings and early stages of disease was thoughtfully criticized; that this method must be ultimately adopted was admitted, but probably not in the early periods of research and not until pathology was more advanced; he thought that the origins of disease would be more rapidly revealed by working back from its fully developed stage; a difficulty in studying the incipient manifestations of disease was that the "margin of safety" or reserve power of the body may compensate for disease until much structural damage has been done. As in his address on "The New Birth of Medicine", inspired, as he here hinted, by his return during the War to full responsibility for hospital patients after twenty or more years of lecturing on medicine, he advocated the "University quality" of teaching which "should lift medicine—preventive and clinical alike—out of the ruts of mere cleverness, adroitness in detail, handbook learning, empirical rules, into a larger and steadier atmosphere". The dearth of "middlemen who shall join the discoveries of the scientist to the practice of medicine" was lamentable, and he protested against the tendency to deprive the

general practitioner of his invaluable work for the 1919 health of the community.

1920

In January he contributed to *Nature* a charming obituary¹ of Sir William Osler, who died on December 29, 1919, saying: "A quality which made Osler so fascinating a companion, his teaching so vivid and telling, and his parts in debate often so lively, was his wit and humour, the sharpness of the wit tempered by the sweetness of the humour. Indeed, much of his playfulness and whimsical mystification were, in naturalist's phrase, a protective colouring to cover deep sensibilities." On January 8 he wrote to Sir George Newman:

Your letters are so welcome and often so comforting as is this concerning dear Osler. I have felt his death grievously. Almost ready for press I have a largish book on Graeco-Roman and Byzantine medical history, and he is gone to whom my first copy would have been sent. I was unable to see the dear man near the last; he became so much worse that all access to him was denied. At Christ Church Lady Osler asked me to join the family of mourners, and two hours later I sat for an hour with her. She is (as yet!) brave and collected. But as yet there is much to do, and I hope there will be—then the blank will come—the sinking heart, so forlorn, alone, child and husband gone! With the loss of our nursery ideas of heaven it seems harder to trust in the unsean; but the voice of God speaking within us should give us all faith and hope. Osler is, as soon some more of us will be, *with Him*, and this should be enough.

In this year *The Oxford Medicine* in six volumes, edited by Henry Christian, Hersey Professor of the

¹ *Nature*, London, 1919-20, civ. 473; also reproduced in part in *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1920, i. 64.

- 1920 Theory and Practice of Medicine, Harvard University, and Physician-in-chief to the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston, Mass., and Sir James Mackenzie, Director of the St. Andrews Clinical Institute, began to come out, being published by the American Branch of the Oxford University Press. Like another American post-war work on medicine, *Nelson's Loose-leaf Medicine, a Perpetual System of Living Medicine*, in seven volumes, for which Allbutt wrote a short introduction, *Oxford Medicine* was so bound as to be capable of being kept up to date without a complete reprinting of each volume. To the second volume (1920) of *Oxford Medicine* Allbutt contributed the article on diseases of the pericardium and mentioned that "as an ardent pupil of Trousseau, whose operative treatment for empyema he had been already carrying out at the Leeds Infirmary", he had the pericardium tapped in 1866. In the fourth volume (1921) the article on gout was written by Allbutt with the collaboration of Professor (later Sir) F. Gowland Hopkins and Dr. C. G. L. Wolf, who provided the section on purine metabolism in relation to gout. In this article he made good use of his practical experience when a consultant at Leeds in the seventies of the last century; thus, "with a middle-aged colleague, I saw in consultation a patient, aged only about thirty-five . . . among other questions I asked him if he took snuff. On retirement for consultation my colleague asked me why I had asked that question. I answered, 'because snuff is often infected by the lead paper in which it is wrapped up'. He mused upon this and said, 'Then that is where I get my gout'; and so it was—his snuff proved to be thus contaminated with

lead". With regard to local treatment he recommended for the larger joints wrappings of carded wool, adding, "The best of these we had in the West Riding as 'tops'; these are streams of greasy wool as they come exquisitely soft out of the carding machines". While admitting the absence of any evidence about the effect on the blood and urine of the "Salisbury" diet, popularly supposed to suit the gouty, he went on, "A distinguished friend of mine, who supposed himself to be gouty, lived on this diet for all the later years of his long life; in his opinion with great advantage, and the patient ought to know". In referring to the hepatic factor he remarked: "The patient who, to the veiled scepticism of his doctor, complains of his liver, may be more often right than we are apt to suppose". A verbal aphorism of his may be quoted in this connection, "A gouty man is not a bird".

He gave evidence before the Earl of Athlone's Post-Graduate Medical Committee which brought out its report in May 1921, and deprecated the proposal to set aside a single hospital for post-graduate instruction. On March 5 he wrote to Sir George Newman: "Friends can often dispense with speech; it was nice to see and feel that you were *there*. Of course you had your ritual, but ritual I sometimes find is calming to the tired spirit; and I am always a little tired in spring. The cordage of the human package seems then to get slack! When I have finished my classes this morning I leave for Lady Osler's for the night."

On March 22, he and Sir James Mackenzie published an appeal¹ asking medical men to send any

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1920, i. 484.

1920 spare papers and journals on science or medicine to Vienna, where, as they heard from Professor K. F. Wenekebach, there was a veritable famine in intellectual as well as ordinary food. On March 29 he wrote to Professor W. S. Thayer, of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, in reply to a request for permission to reprint Professor W. H. Welch's article on thrombosis from the first edition of the *System of Medicine* in a volume of his publications to celebrate his seventieth birthday: "I think that the decision does not rest with me, so I have forwarded your letter to Messrs. Macmillan & Co. There can, I presume, be no objection whatever to the reprinting of Welch's article—rather the contrary, as it reflects honour on us. We desire, my wife and I, to send our affectionate greetings to that 'dear but wicked man' as we used to call him. I fear that we can hardly hope to see either him or you at our British Medical Association Meeting in Cambridge this summer, June 28 and following days. I was at Lady Osler's about ten days ago; she is well in health, but looks worn and aged, poor thing; she intends (as yet) to stop in Oxford. But what a solitude after such a happy home! Tell Welch with my love that I hope he will be as well and happy at seventy as I am at fourteen years older!"

In the spring, at the annual meeting of the Association of American Physicians, he was elected the first honorary member living out of America; at the same time Professors P. Heger of Brussels, Roux of the Pasteur Institute of Paris, and Marchiafava of Rome were elected. This Association, which consists of two hundred active members, was founded in 1886, and is on much the same lines as the Association

of Physicians of Great Britain and Ireland, founded 1920 in 1907, largely as the result of the inspiring enthusiasm of the late Sir William Osler, who was also one of the founders, and in 1895 President, of the American Association.

The following letter was in response to a request from Professor Harvey Cushing of Boston, Mass., who was collecting material for his splendid *Life of Sir William Osler*:

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND,
April 1, 1920.

DEAR HARVEY CUSHING—If anybody can catch the varying forms and lights of Osler's character, and relate the phases of his life, it is yourself.

Alas! as to letters your path will be a thorny one: he rarely wrote a "letter" so far as my experiences count; he dealt in flying post cards—two lines of business and half a line of jest or witty comment on current affairs. These unluckily, after their kind, would get lost; Keith begged of me what I had for the Royal College of Surgeons of England. I found one longer *letter*, and sent it to him—perhaps *after* the "little clinical note from his sick bed" (I had not a few of these post cards in the early stages, but never dreaming of the event, failed to keep them). If Arthur Keith has not lent you the *letter* I gave him he will do so no doubt. I cannot think of anyone who would have *letters*. I should guess he wrote few letters of any length. I fear we cannot hope to see you here during our British Medical Meeting at Cambridge (June 27–July 3). How gladly we would entertain you; I have not been lucky in meeting you when you have been in England. Excuse haste for return mail.—Always very sincerely yours,

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

On May 9 he preached, in the chapel of Gonville and Caius College, a sermon which left a lasting impression on his audience.

1920 The first regular annual meeting of the British Medical Association after the War was held on June 30, July 1 and 2, at Cambridge; there had not been a meeting there since 1880, when Sir George Murray Humphry in his presidential address traced through the past centuries the long neglect of medicine at Cambridge, and insisted on the broad scientific education that should be given there in addition to the strictly professional instruction. In his presidential address, delivered in the Senate House on the evening of June 29, on "The Universities in Medical Research and Practice",¹ Allbutt gave a characteristically wide review of this subject, touching on general practice, preventive medicine, and commenting with force and pungency on the modern psycho-analytical developments of psycho-therapy. In speaking on comparative pathology he recalled Sir James Paget's address on plant pathology in 1880 at the previous meeting at Cambridge, and quoted Sir Henry Acland's dictum in his presidential address to the Section of Public Health, that the pathology of man and domestic animals could not be separated, and that he had therefore advocated a chair of general and comparative pathology at Oxford. Allbutt also referred to his own address in Medicine at the Glasgow meeting in 1888, in which he appealed for study in this direction, but "found no response, hardly an echo". After the address in the Senate House the audience flocked to the adjacent hall of King's College, where Sir Norman Moore, President of the Royal College of Physicians, who, together with Allbutt and Sir George Makins, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, had that day received the honorary degree of LL.D., presented

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1920, ii. 1-8.

to Allbutt his portrait by Sir William Orpen, R.A., 1920 for which the profession had so widely subscribed. In doing so Moore compared Allbutt with his most distinguished predecessors in the chair, especially the scholarly Ralph Winterton (1600–35) of King's, who turned the aphorisms of Hippocrates into Greek verse and was Regius Professor for one year only, and with Francis Glisson (1597–1677) of Caius, who described rickets, the structure of the liver, and irritability, and was Regius Professor of Physic for one-and-forty years, and, like John Caius, President of the Royal College of Physicians of London (1667–1670). The portrait, exhibited in the Royal Academy, now has a permanent home in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and a pleasing mezzotint engraving was made by H. R. Macbeth-Raeburn, A.R.A. A plaque, done after his death by Mrs. Mary Gillick, was presented by Lady Allbutt to the Allbutt Library, which now occupies what was the Kanthack Library (now moved to the Pathological Department) in the Medical School. This was unveiled on May 18, 1929, when Sir James Crichton-Browne delivered an affectionate éloge. On July 5, to the universal approval, his appointment as a Member of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council was announced. With the exception of T. H. Huxley in 1892, no medical man in recent years had received this high honour, save for political services, and there is reason to believe that it was more welcome than the peerage, which many of his friends anticipated.

On August 9 he wrote a letter about pleural reflex syneope,¹ drawing attention to the demonstration by Sir H. K. Anderson, Master of Caius College, that

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1920, ii. 255.

1920 experimentally stimulation of the vagus "may bring the heart to mortal arrest, if the organ be in some way and degree enfeebled". He contributed one of the Memorial Tributes¹ to Sir Norman Lockyer (1836-1920), who died during this month and was his exact contemporary.

In September he and his wife were in Guernsey and visited the County Hospital, where he left behind a graceful and appreciative note about its efficiency in the visitors' book. In an article on "Modern Therapeutics",² published this month, he said that, just as Lister by means of bacteriology had brought about a new birth of surgery, so was medicine being regenerated by physics and chemistry.

On Sunday, November 7, he preached the evening sermon in Dewsbury Parish Church from the text, "They said unto him, 'Master, where dwellest thou?' and he saith unto them, 'Come and see' " (St. John i. 38-39). He began: "We are here to-night to celebrate the festival of All Saints--All Hallows--and it is well therefore that we should take this opportunity of thinking what we mean by saints, why they were, why they are, where they are to be found, and what it is that makes a saint." Later on he pointed out that sainthood depends upon the inward life, but is not merely an unpractical dreamy life, that the most powerful people in the world are practical idealists, and that great saints, such as Theresa, Bernard, Catherine of Sienna, and, in more modern times, Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, were most practical people.

Under the heading "Modern Universities", in "The Times" of November 20, a letter of his appeared

¹ *Nature*, London, 1920-21, cvi. 25.

² *Practitioner*, London, 1920, cv. 157-63.

defending the older universities, and pleading on their behalf for financial help. 1920

In the course of a letter to Sir George Newman, dated December 28, he wrote: "You know that a Diploma of Radiology has been established—headquarters here, much of the clinical teaching in London—which is going famously ahead. One thing we have had *impressed* upon us—namely, that in the hands of self-taught (and otherwise) amateurs, however much they may fancy themselves—radiology is first of all a very dangerous weapon; secondly—in diagnosis—very misleading. . . . We have two parts in the curriculum, the first scientific—largely under the aegis of Rutherford—and the second technical, under the London bigwigs and in a measure here also."

1921

In a letter dated February 2 to Professor F. Hobday, who on the following day gave an "occasional" lecture at the Royal Society of Medicine, entitled "Observations on some of the Diseases of Animals Communicable to Man", he regretted his inability to come to discuss a subject on which, since 1888, he had been speaking and writing with the object of bringing about the consolidation of students in all branches of Medicine. As the outcome of this lecture there was a combined meeting on March 14 of the Royal Society of Medicine and of the Central Branch of the National Veterinary Medical Association, with Sir John Bland-Sutton in the chair, to discuss "the eradication of tuberculosis in man and animals". After Sir John McFadyean's opening address on bovine tuberculosis and Professor Lyle Cummins'

1921 remarks on infected milk, Allbutt¹ put forward a plea for comparative pathology saying that, so far as he knew, pathology was the only subject which had hitherto declined to call—or at any rate had been supine in calling—the comparative method to its aid. He described the chairman, Sir John Bland-Sutton, as one of the strongest links between human and comparative pathology. In a letter to the medical press² on referred pain he drew attention to the experimental work of the late Sir H. K. Anderson, Master of Gonville and Caius College, and contested Dr. A. F. Hurst's view that the viscera are sensitive.

In 1914 he had, with Sir William Osler, been one of the first in England to advocate, in a Memorial to the University of London, systematic university instruction in medical hydrology; it was therefore natural when, seven years later, another movement was made to strengthen the scientific basis of practice by gathering all the workers in hydrology into a common union, that Allbutt should be the first Honorary Member of the International Society of Hydrology, and should contribute a historical preface to the first number of its journal, the *Archives of Medical Hydrology*, which came out in May 1922.

In a letter³ on May 14 he contested the statement that the Adams-Stokes syndrome signified degeneration of the heart muscle, and quoted a case under his observation in which the pulse rate had been as low as six per minute; the necropsy showed that there was aortic stenosis, and that fibrous condensation, beginning no doubt at the aortic collar, had gradu-

¹ *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.*, 1920–21, xiv. 15.

² *Lancet*, 1921, i. 456.

³ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1921, i. 755.

ally invaded the *a-v* structures; but microscopically 1921 the greatly hypertrophied heart presented little or no default, except a slight degree of fibrosis. A few weeks later an annotation in the same journal¹ on the pronunciation of the word *vitamin* quoted the opinion obtained from him that in the first syllable *i* is long. On May 31 he wrote to the *Chemical Age* strongly supporting Sir W. J. Pope's contention in his article "The Case for Chemical Warfare"² that, as under modern conditions war has become a mere orgy of ingenious brutality and rapine, and has ceased to engender even incidental virtues, poison gas cannot make it any worse. He also pointed out that Professor Pope's defence presented "a feature which by its very nature lies below the surface; the discourse is a masterpiece of irony, a piece not unworthy to stand beside the work of the great master of that mode. The irony is so profound, so masked, that some of your readers may have paid for carelessness of reading by missing the inward meaning. Swift himself never penned a more masterly paragraph than that in which Sir William gravely proves that in the last war preventive medicine was responsible for the slaughter of nine-tenths of 15,000,000 men; to which must be added our 'distribution of epidemic disease among non-combatants in all quarters of the globe'; and again, 'the civilian mortality from the mysterious war form of influenza alone amounted to scores of millions; and the death roll lies at the door of preventive medicine'. Hygienists may be as much confounded with astonishment as were Blefuscudians."³

Under the heading of "Design in the Arts:

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.* 1921, i. 826.

² *Chemical Age*, 1921, iv. 526-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 1921, iv. 648.

1921 Unnamed Craftsmen” a letter from him appeared in “The Times” of June 1, drawing attention to the absence of public recognition of the artists’ names in connection with their products, and pointing out that artists were exploited by commercial firms—upholsterers, silversmiths, glass-painters, and organ builders—who took the credit. What kind of portrait, he asked, should we get if they were ordered through a picture dealer and not from the artist? “Yet in this way we order a painted window, an organ, or a chalice; and get what we deserve.”

On June 3 he wrote to Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison, of the Library of the Surgeon-General of the United States Army, Washington, D.C.:

I have asked Messrs. Macmillan to send you a copy of my volume (just out) of several treatises (including the Byzantine Medicine which you were so good as to approve), especially my FitzPatrick Lectures on Greek and Roman Medicine. I submit it you with some trepidation; I know well how humble an effort it is beside your *History*, and your many other most interesting tracts; but I hope—comparatively slight and second-hand as it is—that it may have a not unfavourable reception in the United States.

In reviewing Dr. S. Holth’s book on *Greco-Roman and Arabic Bronze Instruments and their Medico-Surgical Use*, Allbutt¹ pointed out that Hippocrates, though generally regarded as “an insurgent genius springing as it were full grown out of the brain of a rudimentary age”, must have been preceded by a school of much experience of which no trace has been left.

On June 24 he wrote to Professor Pope thanking him for a reprint of his address “The Case for

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1921, xxxv. 106-7.

Chemical Warfare”, and then passed on to quite a different subject, namely, the superannuation of professors on attaining the age of sixty-five years, which had recently been debated in the Senate House at Cambridge as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and was afterwards carried into effect. Allbutt wrote: “I was much in accord with your views expressed in the Superannuation Debate. It is not for an *old* man to argue about it; but I am sure the Commission is making a mistake. They have taken examples from the Civil Service, and there (*I* remember well) the scheme was primarily to accelerate and define *promotion*. Here the professorships rarely go by promotion, and it would be a pity if this became the custom—groovy and often second best. But in respect of calls from without, a man hardly becomes distinguished much before middle life—say towards aet. 50 or so. Well, for a man to pull himself up by the roots—to take up new ways and new colleagues, etc., and moreover to uproot his wife and household and remove to another place—migration, refurnishing, redecoration, etc.—all cost money; and with only fifteen years certain to look forward to—is it worth his while? And the people where he is will have more opportunity to make it better worth his while to stop with them. And is it not a sad thing to see first-class men stranded in fulness of life—Ray Lankester, Thorpe, Prain, Thistleton Dyer; to see their best ten years sacrificed by loss of all conditions of service, and of intellectual stimulus, and have to take to journalism or sitting on a rural Bench of Justices.”

On July 16, in a letter¹ bearing on the surgical

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1921, ii. 129.

1921 treatment of angina pectoris, which was then attracting attention, he mentioned that Professor K. F. Wenekebach of Vienna, on the basis of five hundred necropsies on cases of angina pectoris, entirely agreed with his view that the responsible morbid change was at the base of the aorta; he also remarked that a few years ago "a dear friend of mine argued with me that it was 'a childish opinion', and advised me for my own reputation's sake to say no more about it". He was at Newcastle-on-Tyne for the Annual Meeting of the British Medical Association, and on July 20 opened a discussion in the Section of Medicine on visceral syphilis, especially of the central nervous and cardio-vascular systems; his address¹ was illustrated by an array of specimens provided by Sir German Sims Woodhead. In the course of it he said that his original description of syphilitic periarteritis in 1868 was from a specimen sent to him from the West Riding Asylum by Sir James Crichton-Browne, and that Heubner, who, when he described the condition as primarily an endarteritis in 1873, had not seen his paper, subsequently referred to it courteously and accepted the periarteritis origin. About this time he reviewed² at some length O. Josué and M. Parturier's book, *Les cardio-rénaux*, and the late Professor E. G. Browne's *Arabian Medicine*, which was the text of the FitzPatrick Lectures for 1919 and 1920 at the Royal College of Physicians of London. With feelings of loyalty for a former colleague, he and the late Mr. H. Littlewood of Leeds wrote on October 5 a long letter³ in which, while expressing much appreci-

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1921, ii. 177-83.

² *Ibid.*, 1921, ii. 241; 564.

³ *Ibid.*, 1921, ii. 614-15.

ation of the late Sir Peter Freyer (1851–1921), whose 1921 obituary had recently appeared, they pointed out that the priority for the operation of prostatectomy belonged to the late A. F. McGill, Professor of Surgery at Leeds. An interesting account of McGill's first operation in 1887 was later given by Lord Moynihan.¹ The Moxon Gold Medal at the Royal College of Physicians of London, awarded every third year to the person deemed to have most distinguished himself by observation and research, was presented to him on October 18, St. Luke's day, after the delivery of Dr. H. R. Spence's Harveian Oration by the President, Sir Norman Moore. At the Harveian dinner in the evening he responded for the medallists.

In 1920 and 1921 the thorny question of the relation of women students to the University, including that of degrees, which had been considered at great length in 1896 and 1897, was again much discussed at Cambridge; in April 1921 Allbutt signed a memorial in favour of a compromise between the divergent views. On October 20, 1921, two Graeces were voted upon in the Senate House; the first, in the nature of a compromise and proposing to admit women to a limited membership of the University, was defeated by 908 to 694 votes. The second Graec, proposing to confer the titles of degrees by diplomas on duly qualified women, but excluding them from membership of the University, was carried by 1012 to 370 votes. It may be noted that at Oxford, Convocation on May 11, 1920, approved a Statute making women students members of the University.

In November Allbutt published "Some Remarks

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1925, ii. 39.

1921 on Clinical Units”¹ in the course of which he discussed their constitution, saying that it was not essential that the Directors should entirely eschew outside practice. He was strongly of opinion that the Directors of the Units in London should be elected by a committee of the University of London, and not by a combined committee on which the hospitals concerned were largely represented. With a keen sense of the desirability of maintaining a high university standard he wrote: “It may be that professional preparation will divide into two courses—into a five-years course on craft lines for the diploma of the Colleges, and a university course for those who have the turn and the time for wider and deeper study; a difference which is perhaps coming about more or less undesignedly. In any case the universities must not trifle with their standards.” In a later letter he said that the Director should be a comparatively young man, an opinion he had previously expressed in writing to Sir George Newman in 1919 (*vide* p. 242). His definition of a clinical unit was “A body of individuals in union in the search for and discovery of knowledge”.

1922

On the death on December 29, 1921, at Aisthorpe Hall, Lincolnshire, of German Sims Woodhead, Professor of Pathology in the University since 1899, Allbutt wrote sympathetic appreciations² of his colleague’s sterling qualities of heart and brain. The notice in *The Cambridge Review* began:

¹ *Lancet*, 1921, ii. 937; 1299.

² *Cambridge Rev.*, 1922, xliii. 174; *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1922, i. 40.

There was wonder, and perhaps some dismay, in the University when, in the year 1899, descended into one of its principal chairs a fair-haired blue-eyed man from the North, a champion sprinter and footballer, and one supposed to hold those subversive opinions which were known to thrive among the hardy folk of Yorkshire and Lancashire. And rumour was not idle. The new professor was reported to be a sturdy noneconformist, a militant tectotaller, and a stiff-necked radical; moreover to belong to a sect, at that time in ill repute in society, called Resisters—or non-Resisters was it?—it matters not, the heresy is long dead. And not all this only; furthermore the new colleague was said also to speak his mind with the ingenuous and unflinching candour characteristic of his race. So the Professor's further acquaintance was awaited with the good manners of Cambridge yet with some wariness and a little distrust. . . . The freedom he claimed for himself he gave ungrudgingly to others. In him Cambridge learned the truth of the words of Coleridge: "that religion, in its essence, is the most gentlemanly thing in the world".

They were, of course, closely associated in many ways, and perhaps especially in the practical question of the Papworth Tuberculosis Colony near Cambridge. Together with Dr. P. C. Varrier-Jones they were concerned in two books, entitled *Industrial Colonies and Village Settlements for the Consumptives* (by Sir G. S. Woodhead and P. C. Varrier-Jones, with a preface by Sir Clifford Allbutt, pp. xii and 152, 1920) and *Papworth: Administrative and Economic Problems* (by the late Sir G. S. Woodhead, Sir Clifford Allbutt, and P. C. Varrier-Jones, with an introductory chapter by Sir James Kingston Fowler, pp. 63, 1925). The latter book brought a grave indictment against the efficiency of the existing system of dispensaries and sanatoriums for tuberculosis. In a dispensary the patients were of necessity seen

1922 and treated as out-patients, and it was described as "an out-patient department stocked with drugs which are mostly placebos and an annex of an office for the compilation of statistics". Sanatoriums were intended for early cases, but as a matter of fact 90 per cent. or more of the inmates have passed this stage, for in Kingston Fowler's epigrammatic dictum, "The working man has no time to be an early case of tuberculosis"; thus the sanatorium was prone to become a hospital for incurable cases, and at the best it arrested the progress of the disease but did not cure. Hence when, after some months in a sanatorium, the worker returns to his home and the severe competition with healthy men, a relapse is only too likely to occur sooner or later. The ideal of Papworth is that after sanatorium treatment the tuberculous patient should pass into a settlement or colony where, while under skilled supervision, he can earn a living by a properly restricted activity suited to his diminished capacity. Later in the year Allbutt headed the signatories of a letter of appeal for subscriptions for a portrait bust in bronze of Woodhead; this is now in the Pathological Department of the University. There is also a memorial at Papworth in the form of the Woodhead Laboratory.

On January 20 he gave an address of a religious character to the Student Christian Movement, with the following conclusion:

And now, my younger friends, let an old man leave this message with each one of you. There are times in the lives of all of us when the flame of the Spirit burns low; we are out of heart; we hardly know what to believe; the evil in the world dejects us, or, which is worst of all, we drift into indifference; the lamp drops from our hands; and, if we

watch ourselves as we ought to do, we find we are losing the 1922
finer edge of our kindliness, our truthfulness, our purity. In
these cold and arid seasons the message is, *keep right on in a
steady faithfulness, hoping all things*; and in a while, a few
weeks it may be, or in days, perhaps even in a few hours, a
light, a sudden light, as of the presenee of God, will shine
again within you, and once more you will return into that
peace which passes all understanding.

In a general review of the subject, entitled "A Discussion of Angina Peetoris",¹ published in February, he considered the various hypotheses, and amongst them that put forward by the late Dr. H. Walter Verdon, who in his book on the subject (1920) described his own symptoms, thinly veiled, as those of "Dr. X", and argued that the disease is due to a disturbance of the nervous mechanism of certain spinal segments by peripheral irritation arising not in the heart, but usually in the stomach. With regard to the treatment by nitrites, Allbutt, who in 1908 (*vide* p. 188) had expressed some fear that a nitrite habit might result, now did not find any reason to believe that a morbid craving was thus engendered.

His interest in post-graduate teaching was shown by his contribution of a philosophic preface to a volume of post-graduate lectures organized by the Fellowship of Medicine and delivered at the house of the Royal Society of Medicine. In May he was elected a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston, Mass.).

In "The Times" of March 4 he and Dr. P. C. Varrier-Jones, Medical Director of Papworth Colony, wrote a letter with the heading "The Problem of

¹ *New York Med. Journ. and Phila. Med. Journ.*, N.Y., 1922, cxv. 181-87.

1922 Tuberculosis: Is our Expenditure Wasted?" pointing out the danger of the cry for economy in public health, and that a recent circular (No. 280) of the Ministry of Health would tend to perpetuate the mistake of wasting a large part of the present expenditure on the treatment of tuberculosis. The sane policy, they insisted, was prevention, and in order to stamp out the infection at its source, the whole family of a tuberculous patient must be looked after. The success of the Papworth Colony was instanced to show that this can be done. This was followed up early in July by their article¹ on "Further Experiences in Colony Treatment and After-Care", in which the existing conditions of the sanatorium treatment of tuberculosis were held up to grave criticism on the same lines as in a small book published after Allbutt's death (*vide* p. 261). From it a striking paragraph may be reproduced here:

The lay mind has always desired and looked out for direct "cures" for every disease. The word "cure" acts as a spell; it obscures and throws into the background all questions as to the origin of disease. For most people prevention has far less fascination than "cure". Hope is stirred to the depths by the report of a "cure" for consumption, though a report of prevention leaves most people cold; we wish to consider ourselves immune to every disease, until we are struck down.

At the meeting of the British Medical Association at Glasgow, where in 1888 he gave the address in Medicine, the Gold Medal of the Association "for distinguished merit" was awarded to him for "distinguished services to the profession and to the Association, and in commemoration of his five years'

¹ *Lancet*, 1922, ii. 105-8.

Presidency of the Association at the time of the 1922 Great War". He was actually President during the years from 1915 to 1920 inclusive, instead of for the usual period of one year. The Medal was accompanied by an address, written by the editor of the *British Medical Journal*, the late Sir Dawson Williams, beautifully illuminated by Mr. (later Sir) Frederic G. Hallett, and inscribed on fifteen pages in a volume bound in rich brown morocco leather and hand-tooled in gold. The illustrations included sketches of Gonville and Caius College, "the Backs" and other views of Cambridge, a corner of Park Square, Leeds, of Windermere, the Swiss Alps, and the Arms and Crest of the Regius Professor of Physic. On the evening of July 25, the President of the Association, the late Sir William Macewen, presented Allbutt with this Medal, which was instituted in 1877 to be awarded on the recommendation of the Council to "some person who shall have conspicuously raised the character of the medical profession by scientific work, by extraordinary professional services, or by special services rendered to the British Medical Association". In the Section of Pathology (Human and Comparative), a discussion on animal pathology in relation to human disease was opened by Professors F. Hobday and W. H. Lang, after which the President of the Section, Professor R. Muir, called upon Sir Clifford, who then urged that no scientific subject could advance without the comparative method, and instance history, philology, anatomy, physiology—even religion—as indebted to this method for much of their accumulated and systematized knowledge. The negligence of this method by human nosologists had sterilized not only their own work, but that of

1922 veterinary and plant pathologists. Arguing by analogy, he went on, had been the bane of medicine from its birth, and affinities and origins must be sought as far back as possible in the animal scale.¹

To the Educational Number of the *British Medical Journal* on September 2 he wrote on the training of the medical student, and insisted that the three fundamental principles of all professional educations were: first, good general education; secondly, a good scientific education; and thirdly, a good technical education, and that in the case of medicine, these three occupy more than a quarter of the individual's life. Further, the division of the profession into two classes—those in general practice and medical scientists who advance professional knowledge, represented respectively by the qualifications of the diplomas of the licensing bodies, such as the Conjoint Examining Board in England, and by the degrees of the Universities—carried with it the necessity of training longer for the scientific man by one-half than for the practical family doctor. While recognizing the genuine need and value of specialization, he deprecated this at the expense of a good general knowledge of medicine, and pointed out that at Cambridge special diplomas were granted for subjects, such as tropical medicine and public health, lying outside the medical curriculum, but not for those belonging to the ordinary course of instruction, such as ophthalmology and tuberculosis.

On October 2 he gave, for the second time, the first being in 1889, the introductory address at his old school, St. George's Hospital, and spoke on "Medical Education, Past and Present".² Beginning

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1922, ii. 961.

² *Lancet*, 1922, ii. 781.

in a reminiscent vein, which he regarded as a sign of 1922 age, he recalled his teachers at the hospital when Oxford and Cambridge men were not supposed to compete against the ordinary students for resident posts or even for prizes; this explains, what might otherwise seem remarkable, why he was not a resident or a prize-winner there. He then spoke of professional training in somewhat the same terms as in his recent contribution to the Educational Number of the *British Medical Journal*, and sternly condemned the practice of psycho-analysis, as he had done in his presidential address to the British Medical Association at Cambridge in 1920. It "has been known", he said, "for centuries in the Church as confession and casuistry, and the Roman Church has been well aware of its dangers". To his highly cultivated mind and fastidious taste, the discussion of sexual matters was naturally repulsive, and he abstained from taking a public part on either side in the questions of the combating or the prevention of venereal disease, and, except in his address at Bradford in 1903, was silent about birth control. He concluded on the more pleasant note of the "Rewards of the Doctor", and advocated the cultivation of a hopeful outlook. A successful physician once told him that he never left a house without giving a favourable prognosis, a practice which, though with a colour of worldly wisdom, was right in "that no one could foresee what benediction words of hope might bestow". This good motive certainly characterized his own ministrations to the sick, and also those of his brother Regius, Sir William Osler. On October 26 the Allbutts sustained the loss of their neighbour, the Reverend H. S. Cronin, the husband of their niece and adopted daughter, whose

1922 marriage took place in 1899 (*vide* p. 141). He wrote on November 18 to Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison:

How splendidly you do these things! I am so thankful for your great paper on the History of Military Medicine, as otherwise I should never have seen it. Thorough as well as comprehensive, it must stand out as a permanent contribution to medical history. The scattered and partial articles on the subject needed to be again reviewed, consolidated, and represented. It was very enterprising too to have undertaken to include the Great War!—hardly yet at an end. The narrative is charmingly *readable*.

It is always a great pleasure to me to think, if we cannot meet on *your* side (I look forward to a visit *here* from *you*), I have so cordial and interesting a friend in the New World.

At this time he accepted the position of President of the West London Post-graduate College, where his lectures on “kinds of pneumonia” and angina pectoris had attracted large and appreciative audiences.

Sixty-four Years a Doctor: The Reminiscences of Sir Charles Brown, an Octogenarian Lancashire Doctor (1922) was dedicated “to Sir Clifford Allbutt, whose Pathway through life from 1836 to 1922 has been concurrent with my own”. Known as “the Grand Old Man of Preston”, Sir R. C. Brown was a believer in the therapeutic power of music in neurasthenia and in furthering convalescence, presented organs to the Infirmary and other institutions in Preston, gave an address to the Fylde Medical Society on “Music and Medicine” (1894), and was of opinion that most men remarkable for longevity have been fond of music. Towards the end of his long life he said that he had “found the value of money now that he was giving it away”; influenced by Allbutt, he was, as already mentioned, a generous

benefactor to the Cambridge Research Hospital, which in 1928 took the name of the Strangeways Research Laboratories. Born in the same year, Brown died on November 23 in the same year as Allbutt. The successful *Textbook of the Practice of Medicine*, edited by Dr. F. W. Price, was also dedicated to Sir Clifford, and the second edition in 1926 to his memory. In the following year Dr. J. F. Halls Dally, who, like Dr. Price, was connected with Mount Vernon Hospital, dedicated his book on "High Blood Pressure" to the describer of hyperpica.

1923

Under the pseudonym of "Grammatista"¹ he supported the proposal that instead of the names "woman doctor" and "lady doctor" the prettier one of "doctress", thus following the example of Italy, should be adopted. Early in the year the third edition of his *Notes on the Composition of Scientific Papers* came out; in obedience to a general wish the peculiarly scientific features of the first edition were modified, and, while preserving their immediate purpose, many of the medical instances were exchanged for others of a pleasanter nature. A former Cambridge pupil, who had taken up medical literary work, in an appreciative review² justly remarked: "Rigorous revision has cast out some familiar passages which many will think too good to lose. Remembering its purpose few would have grumbled had the book grown with the passage of time. . . . If we should seem to write of it with too much enthusiasm we

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, i. 129.

² *Ibid.*, 1923, i. 422.

1923 reply that the medical editor by the nature of his work feels more often than others the need of such advice." Allbutt then wrote to the editor, the late Sir Dawson Williams: "If it is unusual to thank the editor for kind appreciations I must for once disregard conventions, and express my warmest gratitude for the most generous review this week of my little Compositions book. I feel the kindness more as the reviewer has evidently read this book—a rare attention! It made my wife very happy." Possibly in the last sentence but one Sir Clifford had in mind Sheridan's mot, "You should never read a book before reviewing it, as it prejudices you so!"

In February he joined in a correspondence in the *Cambridge Review* on bell-ringing, which he said was now so altered that skilled change ringing had become a lost art, and referred to his recollections of bell-ringing competitions at Dewsbury in his youth (*vide* p. 6). When he returned to Cambridge in 1892 it seemed to him that the quarter chimes of Great St. Mary's had "lost something of their charm, a loss that seemed difficult to explain. As I listened, I thought the rhythm had hardened; that in the course of repairs some soulless mechanic had distributed the intervals equally; while in my earlier time they still retained that little wilfulness of chime, that human touch, which the original artist had given to them? 'A little less and how far away.'" In a letter¹ to the medical press on March 6 Allbutt gently questioned Dr. J. S. Haldane's use of the word "mechanistic" in place of "mechanical" and raised a protest, as did John Sterling in reproaching Thomas Carlyle for its use nearly ninety years before, against the "word

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, i. 441.

environment as ugly and ineffectual". A case of hyperpiesia reported by Dr. D. C. L. Vey¹ in the same Journal was supplemented by a commentary from the original describer of the condition. On May 4 he addressed the Cambridge Medical Society on the "Diagnosis and Treatment of Angina Pectoris",² insisting on his view that the underlying cause was in the first part of the aorta, and referring to the supporters of his contention, among them Professor K. F. Wennekebach, who in the following year came over to this country to do so in a special lecture before the Royal College of Physicians of London. The interest excited by this paper led to a correspondence in the pages of the *Lancet*. In June he related³ how he came to the conclusion that arteriosclerosis is not the cause of raised arterial blood-pressure. Incidentally he mentioned that when sitting on a Home Office Committee (1906-1909) he was able to confirm the occurrence of a local arteriosclerosis in the limbs of men engaged in hard labour, adding that this change was of little importance, and was not evidence of a similar general arterial change. Some observers, he said, attached far too much importance to small differences, such as 10 or even 15 mm. of mercury, in the blood-pressure; the best "symptomatic" treatment was the high-frequency current, and a most important point was to free the patient from apprehension about his condition.

The eight hundredth anniversary of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the Priory Church of St. Bartholomew the Great was celebrated on the four days, June 5-8, and naturally Allbutt

¹ Allbutt, C. and Vey, D. C. L., *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, i. 672.

² *Lancet*, 1923, i. 893.

³ *Am. Med.*, 1923, p. 345.

1923 was the delegate appointed to represent the University of Cambridge. The sixty-five delegates presented addresses of congratulation, each speaking for two minutes, and the Governors of the Hospital marked the occasion of the octocentenary by striking a medal bearing the heads of William Harvey and Rahere the Founder, and by printing a short history of the Hospital, written as regards the past and present by Sir D'Arey Power, and as regards the future by Sir Holburt Waring.

On June 19, at the annual dinner of the West London Medico-Chirurgical Society, when presented with the Society's Triennial Gold Medal, he modestly disclaimed any title to honours such as this and others—the Moxon Gold Medal of the Royal College of Physicians (1921) and the British Medical Association's Gold Medal of Merit (1922)—but happily supposed that "his professional brethren had come to look upon him, in Bismarck's phrase, as an 'honest broker' in the mart of medical ideas and discoveries, acting as a merchant between producer and consumer". After briefly reviewing the recent changes and advances in medicine he concluded: "We are living thankfully in a glorious time; our children will go much further still, but they will owe much of their progress to the principles laid down by the great men of our own times".

A few days later he wrote the following letter to Dr. F. G. Crookshank, who had the same strong feeling for the accurate use of words and clear thinking:

ST. RADEGUNDS, CAMBRIDGE,
June 27, 1923.

I have just received a copy of the *Medical Press and Circular* containing your very able article on "Meanings".

It seems to be a continuation from a part (I.?) which has 1923
escaped my notice, although the Editor a while ago devoted
a long article to my little book which was indeed worth
living and writing for. I am especially pleased now by your
tilt at "morbid entities". I am tired of asking my pupils—
on their essays—*where* the entity is? It is funny to see how
they are taken aback, and puzzled. . . . A worse error is
almost universal—the calling of opinions, postulates and
general statements (axioms—rules, principles, and laws) by
the name of "facts". I have jabbed at this in my little book
—3rd Edition. Have you a copy of the third edition? If not,
may I send you one?

On July 4, 1923, he went down to Lord Mayor
Treloar's Cripples' Hospital and College at Alton in
Hampshire, of the Honorary Medical Board of which
he had been a member since November 28, 1911, and
delivered a masterly address¹ to the Queen Alexandra
League on the ideals of the work done there, quoting
with approval the dictum of the late Sir Anthony
Bowlby, then President of the Royal College of Sur-
geons, that "the glory of Alton is that it has abated
surgery; that it does surgery without surgery". He
applauded Sir Henry Gauvain's attitude of "back
to Hippocrates" and the *vis medicatrix naturae*, the
utilization of the healing power of light carried out at
Alton and Hayling Island, and the therapeutic value
of the educational methods. In conclusion he said:
"In speaking especially of Alton, may I play on an
old string of mine, nay on two: First, may I rejoice in
the remarriage of surgery and internal medicine, the
divorce of which has been one of the chief banes of
Medicine during the long period of its history; and
secondly, on the establishment at last in my own
university of an Institute for Comparative Medicine

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, ii. 111.

1923 in which the study of the diseases of many kinds of animals will throw mutual lights upon those of each; as you know, tuberculosis is a disease common to man and many animals". Before the address he planted an oak tree, which now has a plate with an inscription recording the event. At the lunch with Sir William Treloar and Sir Henry Gauvain he was in great form, and there was much genial chaff between the two veterans.

In August and September Allbutt was in North Wales and wrote to Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison: "I am now engaged on a new scheme, a course of lectures in Cambridge on the history of Medicine; first a general scheme; then to take up periods more intensively. I can do this quite well besides my regular professional work, especially as I have 'Garrison' always at my elbow." The following letter to Professor Harvey Cushing of Boston, Mass., was in reply to an inquiry about the late Sir William Osler on whose Life he was still engaged:

ST. DAVID'S HOTEL,
HARLECH, NORTH WALES,
Sept. 4, 1923.

DEAR DR. CUSHING,—It is delightful to have a little missive from you; but I wish I could say more on the point of William Osler's generous and modest reticences on his own works and published opinions. Although I noticed it many times, yet these were fugitive instances, hard to pin down. One small point does remain in my mind because it put me to a little shame. On some public discussion I had declaimed about angina pectoris that it was no uncommon disease if one included mild degrees of it. I described a mild form and so on. W. Osler was there and spoke also, in agreement, never mentioning any work of his own. Some weeks later I turned up angina pectoris in W. Osler's last edition, and to

my dismay found that he had FORMALLY divided angina 1923 pectoris into (four?) divisions (I write away from books) of which No. 1 was my "Angina Neuritis". I say to my dismay, because I might have seemed to him to be a poacher? Or was I overawed by his magnanimity? A little of both. But such minor points as these cannot be formally recorded—they are too unsubstantial. We were delighted to see W. W. Keen again, so vivid and full of life and fun. Yes, W. Osler stopped many a time with us. For 3 (?) years he was an examiner in Cambridge (as Garrod is now), *i.e.* he stayed the inside of a week with us twice yearly, besides casual visits from Baltimore days onward (when you and Futeher were next door), and we were often with him and Lady Osler. Indeed we lately spent a few days with her. I fear I have nothing in the way of relics.

His intellectual activity was obviously shown in his scholarly criticism in the *Classical Review*¹ of Henry Osborn Taylor's *Greek Biology and Medicine* and Charles Singer's volume on the same subject; he threw out a warning in the question—

Does the passion for history and archaeology, in our day so general, signify a waning of creative genius, a looking back of men, not pressing forward to new ideals?

Without definitely giving an answer he went gracefully on:

The history of the day is inspired by the methods of natural science, which itself indeed is a kind of history, but more analytic and adaptive than creative. At any rate, we may be thankful that our history is good, and that good history is being served out to the public in portions as wholesome and digestible as the two little books before us.

Early in October a long and considered review of Dr. A. D. Ritchie's book, *The Scientific Method: An*

¹ *Classical Rev.*, London, 1923, xxxvii. 129.

1923 *Inquiry into the Characters and Validity of Natural Laws*, appeared over his initials,¹ and a paper in collaboration with P. C. Varrier-Jones, the Director of the Cambridge Tuberculosis Colony at Papworth, near Cambridge, was published on "Village Settlements for the Consumptive: Some Economic Considerations of 'Training'," ² a subject which they subsequently treated in book form. The following letter, written on October 10, to T. R. Glover, D.D., the Public Orator, shows his artistic feeling and keen interest in classical scholarship:

Two days ago, having an hour to spare in the Athenæum, I fortunately lighted upon your delightful Virgil (I was pleased to see you knew how to spell Virgil in English, as you do Terence and Livy). It is a charming study. But I had one rather nasty shock where you describe Menelaos as watching and piping with his *young woman* in his arms, reminding one of the Bishop of London's description of Hyde Park! I have turned up Lang's translation and I see that he gives the same rendering. Theocritus has his marks of decadence no doubt, but this picture is too unhellenic. . . . It had never entered my head that the enclitic *τὺ* meant other than his *pipe*, for which the bent arms are most characteristic and artistic. The young woman view is clumsy and inartistic. Theocritus is dwelling on the *picture* watching and piping and gazing at the sunny sea. No young woman is mentioned. . . . But I fear you are all against me—still I think you are all wrong! The shepherds' pipes are the burden of the whole idyll. The young women (or one only) are very allusive. Do try to think how much more pastoral and exquisite my view is. It is odd if I am alone in this, as I never thought of any difference of opinion.

On October 20 he wrote a short letter³ recommending the spelling "dcinosaur" in preference to "dinosaur",

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, ii. 611.

² *Lancet*, 1923, ii. 912.

³ *Nature*, 1923, cxii. 590.

a question that had been raised in the pages of 1923 *Nature*.

On October 24, as the first President of the new Section of Comparative Medicine at the Royal Society of Medicine, he gave the introductory address on "The Integration of Medicine", pointing out that as physic had been divorced from surgery and mind from body, so were the diseases of man from those of animals, and continuing in picturesque simile: "The folly of the division of the medicine of the hand from the medicine of the bottle has now become so glaring that our next festival may be on the blowing up of this rampart; indeed the gynaecologists have exploded their end of it already. But it is a big business to transform a mediaeval castle, with its baileys, barbican, and keep into a modern domain." The first and the last sentences in his address seem to express his philosophy of life's work: "If for years slowly and almost silently our work makes its way we must be content; our experience of the world teaches us to be content; but happily, now and then, after long hewing in the dark forest, we break into the light; we find ourselves almost suddenly upon a peak, our way open and bright before us, and our cause justified before men. Such a festival is our meeting to-day." And in conclusion he quoted Benjamin Franklin's dictum, "Hard work is still the road to prosperity, and there is no other". Sir D'Arey Power,² a successor of his in the chair of this Section, in his presidential address spoke of him as a reincarnation of Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) of Zürich, who in his *Historia Animalium* dealt at

¹ *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.*, 1923-24, xvii. (Sect. Comp. Med.) 1-3.

² *Ibid.*, 1926, xx. (Sect. Comp. Med.) 87.

1923 large with the habits and diseases of animals, was certainly one of the best beloved men of his time, and had the same encyclopaedic mind. Osler, who often spoke of Gesner as "a great friend", has also been regarded as his modern double, and thus again the two Regius Professors appear as brothers in the eyes of those who knew them best.

In "The Times" of November 1 there was a letter over his signature on "the Medical Panel", showing that the payment should be considered in reference to the services rendered and the cost involved in becoming a medical man under present conditions. Medicine, he pointed out, has been not so much changed as transformed; a generation ago the doctor was an observer and a naturalist, and by practice mainly an empiric; now medicine was being reconstructed and general practice was thus rising in value and consideration; Cambridge M.B.s, who in his young days all aimed at consulting work, were now going into general practice.

On the death of Mr. T. Pridgin Teale on November 13, 1923, in his ninety-third year, he paid an eloquent tribute¹ to a friend of more than sixty years, mentioning that he was the first surgeon, or one of the first, to provide a nursing home for his private operations, an innovation far from popular at the time, as the general practitioner thus lost the post-operative care of the patient. In describing the man he said that Teale "thought with his fingers". They were associated in very early days at Leeds in experiments on the hypodermic injection of morphine, and later in the operative treatment of tuberculous glands in the neck. The obituary notices in

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1923, ii. 1007.

the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* and in *Nature* were 1923 also from his pen, and in the former he mentioned that their collaboration in experimental pharmacology was cut short by the Anti-Vivisection Act when they had only discovered the remarkable immunity of rabbits to morphine. He also wrote a sympathetic appreciation of Dr. William Hall (1834–1923) of Leeds, whom he remembered in his own early days at Leeds, when he himself “was living chiefly on hope”, as one of the first to move in the provision of “school meals”. Hall was the senior partner of Mr. (later Sir) A. Mayo Robson, who in early days confided to him (T. C. A.) his ambition to risk all in the pursuit of pure surgery. In a letter¹ published in December he recalled his advocacy in 1869 of hypodermic injections of morphine for the relief of the dyspnoea of cardiac disease. The Michaelmas number of the *Cambridge University Medical Magazine*, belonging to the Medical Society of the undergraduates working at medicine, appropriately contained an interesting “Message to Medical Freshmen”, full of the ripe wisdom and experience of the Regius Professor of Physic. He begged men to keep up their literary tastes, and gave them the advice on which, it would seem, his most active life had been based:

Never waste—even five minutes; always have something on your desk that you can do between lectures, before hall, and while waiting for a friend. Finish everything up as you go; leave no loose ends. *Never rest*, except in sleep; change your occupations.

¹ *Lancet*, 1923, ii. 1422.

1924

1924 As an appendix to the case presented on behalf of Insurance Practitioners by the Insurance Acts Committee of the British Medical Association, before the Court of Enquiry into the Insurance Capitation Fee, Allbutt made a statement¹ with regard to contract practice; he pointed out that the time required for a full examination of a fresh case—let alone skill and elaboration—is at least double what it was fifteen years previously, and the remuneration then sufficient had therefore become inadequate, and that in the long run, even among honourable men, scanty pay must bring about a lower grade of service. The necessary training of a medical man was much longer than it was a generation before, and the present day family physician must go through all the special departments far enough to realize their bearings and so to advise his patients properly.

In the Lent term he published in the newly established *Cambridge University Medical Society Magazine* the first of three lectures² on the History of Medicine, dealing with the Hippocratic, the Alexandrian, and the Graeco-Roman periods, the last appearing after his death. A leader in "The Times" of March 1, entitled "What makes a Lunatic?" in connection with the Harnett case, gave rise to some correspondence in its columns about the evidence of insanity and criminal responsibility; in this Allbutt joined on March 6, and, after pointing out that "health whether of body or mind is not a fixed position or rotation, but an oscillation about an ideal

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1924, i. supplement, p. 5.

² *Cambridge Univ. Med. Soc. Mag.*, 1924, i. 209; ii. 9; 1925, ii. 114.

axis", concluded from his experience of the insane, 1924 both as an old visiting justice and as a physician, that there was not much real difficulty in coming to a decision between insanity and sanity.

In April 1924 the Allbutts went to the Lakes and stayed for two weeks at Ambleside, being fortunate in getting good weather for what was his last visit. Mr. C. H. Hough of White Craggs, Clappergate, Ambleside, wrote to the late G. E. Wherry, who contributed the obituary notice of Sir Clifford to the *Alpine Journal* (1925, xxxvii. 176-79), an account of Allbutt's "walk over Loughrigg, 1000 ft. above Windermere, last spring, when he was 'eighty-eight if I live to July'. The expedition led over streamlets and rocky slopes with occasional stone walls, and he enjoyed every bit of it, quoting 'Long hast thou been a darling haunt of mine'. His eagerness was delightful, and on a sunny day", writes Mr. Hough, "I called at his lodgings in the morning; Lady Allbutt met me with the remark, 'Oh! he has started off alone; he thought you were detained'. On the way Allbutt pointed out the distant tops, all of which he had climbed in his time. I left him in Ambleside, thoroughly delighted with the expedition and showing no apparent fatigue.' In December Sir Clifford wrote: 'This walk I fear will never be repeated. We are both well, I am *very well*, but cannot walk far; we have, therefore, not yet discussed a possible journey to the Lakes for next Easter. I shall then be near the entrance to my ninetieth year and we may shrink from a long journey. And I could do no more than look at the hills—still that would be *something*.'"

To *Imperial Health*, the Report of the First Inter-

1924 national Conference of the People's League of Health, held at the British Empire Exhibition, May 21-24, he contributed the Foreword. The League was congratulated, for its object—the education of the public—was much more needed than legislation, which, when pushed beyond popular understanding, did more harm than good; “only perhaps in the matter of mental diseases, and of codification, is new legislation really urgent”. In speaking of the habits of artificial civilized life, he remarked, “It is curious that none of the speakers touched on tobacco; perhaps they were all smokers, and the point was a tender one; but it is difficult to suppose that so potent a drug can be wholly indifferent to our bodies. At least, as I have said elsewhere, smoking cigarettes adds ten more years to the record of age upon a woman's face—which is a pity.” Among a number of other idiosyncrasies (*vide* p. 294) Allbutt was very susceptible to tobacco smoke, an account¹ of which he gave in 1897 without betraying his identity: “One case is known to me of a man whose general health is excellent, who is by no means a neurotic subject, and whose heart stands work well in all other respects, in whom intermittence of the heart may occur for many days if he remain for an hour or two in a room with many smokers. He dare not sit in the smoking room of his club or in the smoking compartment of a railway carriage. The intermittence may not begin until the next day, or the next but one, but then comes on with the certainty of a laboratory experiment; it gets worse during the next day or two, and then gradually passes off in a few more days. He never suffers from any cardiac disorder unless ex-

¹ *System of Medicine* (Allbutt), 1897, ii. 915.

posed to tobacco, but this proclivity has hung about him for many years. He has no dislike to the drug, nor does he feel any immediate discomfort from it." Though a non-smoker, and obliged as far as possible to avoid long public dinners, he was extremely broad-minded on the subject, always offering his guests cigarettes, and the most forcible indictment he ever made against it was that it aged feminine beauty. In a review¹ of the relation of smoking to arteriosclerosis in 1915, he came to the comforting conclusion that if it is a cause at all of arteriosclerosis, it is a very slow one, at least to most persons, so that its effects being mingled with other conditions of senility are almost impossible to identify, and in his posthumous *Arteriosclerosis: A Summary View* he did not find any later evidence to modify his opinion that the effect of tobacco in causing hyperpiesia and senile atheroma, if any, is negligible. 1924

In the course of a sympathetic obituary notice² of Thomas George Bonney (1833–1923), who had been President of the Alpine Club (1881–83), he wrote: "When, on his return to Cambridge in 1905, the Cambridge Branch of the Alpine Club was founded, Bonney was caught in the act of proposing as the first President a friend of not half his own qualifications for the honour. The Club soon put that right." It is not difficult to guess who the "friend" was.

In connection with a discussion on pulmonary embolism and primary pulmonary thrombosis held by the North of England Obstetrical and Gynaecological Society at Liverpool on March 14, he wrote

¹ *Diseases of the Arteries including Angina Pectoris*, 1915, i. 250.

² *Alpine Journal*, 1924, xxxvi. 142-47.

1924 a letter¹ giving details of his experience of these conditions, and making public for the first time the nursing precautions he had successfully employed for the prevention of femoral thrombosis in typhoid patients when he was in entire charge of the Leeds Fever Hospital in the 'sixties (*vide* p. 32). Concerning the clinical distinction between pulmonary embolism and thrombosis there was, he thought, rarely, if ever, any difficulty, for the onset of symptoms in embolism was absolutely sudden, whereas "thrombosis, rapid as it may be, is gradual", and in support of the latter sequence he described a case seen a few years before.

On May 5 Professor Karl Friedrich Wenckebach, Director of the First Medical Clinic in Vienna since 1914 and widely known before the War for his cardiological work at Groningen, gave a special lecture² at the Royal College of Physicians of London on "Angina Pectoris and the Possibilities of Surgical Relief", a subject for which his ten years' experience of Vienna, with its trying conditions, had afforded unusual opportunities for investigation. Though such special lectures are exceptional at the College, which has almost an *embarras de richesse* of endowed annual lectures, the subject and the occasion rendered this one particularly appropriate; the first real account of the disease was given at the College on July 21, 1768, by William Heberden, the elder, on the basis of twenty cases, in a paper entitled "Some Account of a Disorder of the Breast", and other Fellows of the College had been prominent in the investigation of a disease which, therefore, is specially associated with British Medi-

¹ *Lancet*, 1924, i. 872.

² *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1924, i. 809-15.

cine. Prominent among the moderns were Allbutt 1924 and James Mackenzie, both then in the last year of their lives. Mackenzie was stricken with this—the Doctor's—disease and could not be present; but Allbutt was there to hear Wenekebach's enthusiastic support of his view that disease of the first part of the aorta was the essential factor, and that changes in the coronary arteries and the heart muscle were of secondary importance in the causation. Wenekebach said that his chief motive for making this communication to his professional brethren in England was his possession of the strongest experimental proof of the correctness of the contention of "the best authority on angina pectoris of this time—your highly honoured, even right honourable, Nestor of teachers of Medicine, my faithful friend in sunny and in dark years, Sir T. Clifford Allbutt". After this lecture by Wenekebach, who in 1928, at the tercentenary of William Harvey's publication of the *Exercitatio anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus*, was, in accordance with a new by-law (1927), made an Honorary Fellow of the College at the same time as Lord Balfour, Professor I. P. Pavlov, of Petrograd, and Sir Ernest Rutherford, President of the Royal Society, the large audience had the pleasure of hearing Sir Clifford¹ express his "satisfaction that certain hypotheses concerning angina pectoris which I have propounded to rather deaf ears for five-and-thirty years have now received confirmation from a supreme judge". He spoke with the vigour and clearness that many a man of half his years might envy. This was the last occasion that he attended a meeting at the College.

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1924, i. 828.

1924 In May he wrote this appreciative letter to Lieut.-Col. F. H. Garrison:

ST. RADEGUNDS, CAMBRIDGE.

I have just given the last of a short course of University Lectures here on the history of medicine and I seize the first spare moment to thank you most cordially, most profoundly, for the extraordinary service of your *great* book. It is one thing to use such a book casually as a work of reference, it is another to have to *use* the *whole book* for intimate and general preparation. Every day I was more and more astonished at its fulness and completeness in detail, and yet I had Haeser, Neuburger, Pagel, etc., all at my elbow. How you collected all your detail, and *never missed a date* that one wanted, is a mystery. The book must have cost you *years* of time. And there is so much good reading in it—not mere dry chronicles. And I hope you are well and family happy in spite of your banishment from your dear library where the *world wants* you to be again. We are all well and things going SLOWLY back to *pre-war*, but still trade short and prices high. If there can be a fault in your book it is your *too* kind but very acceptable courtesies to me.

On June 27 he presided at the Cambridge Graduates' Medical Club, which held their annual dinner in the hall of Trinity College. In the summer he was engaged in a correspondence¹ with Professor G. M. Robertson, Sir James Barr, Dr. R. D. Rudolf, and others in the medical press about the cardiac delirium which he had described in 1885, nearly forty years before (*vide* p. 90). His love of natural history made him write to "The Times" urging, as in the case of lapwings, that steps should be taken to protect swallows, the numbers of which had recently much diminished; this letter appeared on July 4. In another short letter in the same journal on July 24 he quoted

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1924, i. 1154; ii. 130, 343.

with approval a letter written in 1886 by the late 1924 Canon Westcott on the Sacrament. In August and September the Allbutts were on the Yorkshire moors, and when at Whitby he had warnings that his marvellous health was breaking, for on walking uphill and sometimes even on the level he was occasionally pulled up with oppression, and on one occasion so severely that he thought his last hour had come. This disability increased, and in October he could not walk a quarter of a mile, but appeared well to others and kept his own council, though recognizing that unless improvement occurred his career must close. He was back in Cambridge on September 16, when a short letter from him appeared in "The Times" in connection with a discussion about a motto for London; he suggested that the most appropriate was that already its own—the old Roman name Augusta. Later in the year he wrote a grateful appreciation of the late Dr. G. E. Haslip, who was treasurer of the British Medical Association from 1916, and had been the first to propose that Allbutt's portrait should be painted and presented to him at the Cambridge Meeting in 1920.

The following letter to the late Lady Osler was in connection with some proof sheets of Professor Harvey Cushing's *Life of her husband* which she had submitted to him:

ST. RADEGUNDS, CAMBRIDGE,
October 3, '24.

DEAR LADY OSLER,—I am very sorry; but I have had an *awful week!* Incessant engagements until this evening and I am now pretty tired. And M.B. Examinations are all the time and fill up every cranny. I did finish the "*reading*" in 24 hours, but as I found a few points needing revision I felt I could not just return the MS. without a letter. Then, as

1924 I saw Sir A. Garrod in London on Thursday, and as he said he also found paragraphs which ought to be revised, I felt the return of proof was not urgent. He may be sending you his criticism. I have just explained to Prof. Dreyer (who is here examining) that the remark on p. 283 that Sir William was "dropped by the Cambridge Examining Board" cannot be allowed to stand for one moment. It is not unlikely that the legend arose out of one of Sir William's jokes. He served for a fair while, and then found—as Sir Archibald likewise—that the dates of Oxford and Cambridge Medical Examinations are apt to clash! and he was otherwise very busy. He RESIGNED, before the ordinary time was out—for those reasons—*much to our regret*.

He was an invaluable Examiner—sympathetic, broad-minded, acceptable to the men—and his "over-indulgence" (if any) was in *words* and fun. He knew his duty and did it, even if unwillingly in a few cases, as with all of us. "Can't we let the poor devil through?" he would say now and then, but never pressed it against the general vote, in which indeed he ALWAYS agreed. I never remember his moving the approval of a candidate against the reports of his colleagues. As to his fun, we think the "pranks" are a *little* overdone; true and characteristic, but they may readily loom up against all the higher and more accomplished things, apt to get *out of proportion*.

Excuse this very hurried scrawl to catch the last post before the Sunday interval. Give our best regards to Mrs. Chapin; I have an impression we owe her an answer to a very welcome epistle. It was *such a joy* to see you! Councilman is here and lunches with us on Sunday; a great pleasure.

He was invited by the Royal Society of Medicine to give the annual Lloyd Roberts Lecture in 1925. To this lectureship, founded, like others, by the will of the late Dr. David Lloyd Roberts (1835–1920) of Manchester, the Royal College of Physicians of London, the Medical Society of London, and the Royal

Society of Medicine, this being the order of their 1924 seniority in age, appoint in successive years. The first lecture was given in 1923 by the late Sir Edmund Gosse, and the second by Dr. Herbert R. Spence in 1924. As the following letter to the President, Sir St. Clair Thomson, shows, he accepted with some forebodings as to the future; these unfortunately were justified, and Sir Arthur Keith¹ gave the lecture on "The Nature of Man's Structural Imperfections" on November 16, 1925.

ST. RADEGUNDS, CAMBRIDGE,
Dec. 21, '24.

DEAR ST. CLAIR THOMSON,—I hesitated in my answer to Sir John MacAlister, and I hesitate again in reply to your most kind invitation. How *dare* I at my age, give such hostages to 1925! Marvellous to say I am *very* well, and unless I deceive myself—have all my faculties (cerebral) intact—*quantum valeant*. But my fear is lest, on failure past the mid-year, I might leave a very short time to another orator to prepare his address. MacAlister says you will take the risk. And if I find myself running down I will try to give you good notice. Or indeed my address might be read for me by an understudy if I became physically incompetent to read it. On account of shortening days, I should like the date to be the earliest in the autumn convenient to the Society.

I believe the subject should be one of *Medical History*; if so, I feel—speaking off-hand—disposed to write on the (mainly clinical) story of Heart Disease from say Harvey to Laennec—speaking roughly as to dates—pre-stethoscopic period. But I may find this has been done—or twice done—in the Harveian Orations? So before setting to I should have to run up to the Royal College of Physicians and consult the Harveian series before deciding. Perhaps the fixing of my subject might wait?

My wife joins me in very kind remembrances and good wishes for Xmas and New Year, and I—as a Midhurst

¹ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 1925, ii. 929-32.

1924 colleague—am deeply impressed by your book—as devoted as skilful and instructive—on laryngeal tuberculosis in that Institution.—Yours very sincerely,

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

As he always did, he had begun collecting material for this lecture in the manner described in his *Notes on the Composition of Scientific Papers* (*vide* p. 162).

Together with James Mackenzie he contributed to a symposium on the real value of strophanthus as a cardiac remedy.¹ On December 6 he defended² the use of the word “scientist” as quite as normal as “artist” or “economist”; it had met with some criticism in the pages of *Nature*, among others from Sir E. Ray Lankester, who expressed the hope that it would not be used in the journal. In the December number of the *Classical Review* he reviewed the second volume of Dr. W. H. S. Jones’ English translation of Hippocrates in Loeb’s “Classical Library”, and, as in his previous notice of the first volume, described the scholarship, including strict textual revision of the work, as first-rate, and the translation as “nervous, idiomatic, felicitous, and close to the original”. At the same time he noticed, though at less length, Dr. R. O. Moon’s FitzPatrick Lectures, 1921–1922, at the Royal College of Physicians of London, *Hippocrates and his Successors in Relation to the Philosophy of their Time*.

The Papworth Annual, published at Christmas 1924, contained his last message to the institution for which he had done so much:

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Although but few of you are known to me personally, yet I venture to write to you all as friends,

¹ *Therap. Gaz.*, Detroit, 1924, N.S., xl. 153-61.

² *Nature*, London, 1924, cxiv. 823.

because we are all engaged in a great plan for the relief of mankind from one of its direst plagues. This purpose which animates us all is itself a bond of friendship. Can I use this occasion and this season better than to impress this great purpose of ours upon you, so that each one, however humble his service in our community may be, or however crippling his malady, may still play a willing part and bear his sufferings in the spirit of a member of a large company of us who are working for this noble end. If so, if every one of us is working together with his fellows for this purpose, or even if for a time he may be only waiting in hope, then there are no distinctions between us; no great folk and no lesser folk, but all alike doing equally honourable work—for the motive is the merit—all bearing each other's burdens, all devoted to this special service of mankind.

Your living together in one social body makes for a common sentiment, a common hope, a common pride in work which you have done, which you are doing, and which you will do. When we work in companies we find our own enthusiasms and our personal energies multiplied tenfold; we are no longer just so many individuals, but an army with its great heart and its high resolve.

Yet although above all we need these enthusiasms and these energies, we must give them form and aim by a sound judgment and by mapping out the most excellent way. We want the gale, but also we want the helm and the helmsman. Happily you are well led, and our enemy is in sight.

All this fighting spirit is, I am sure, within you; no shirking, no murmurings, no turning tail; and let me remind you that the eye of the nation is upon you.

Papworth is said to be an experiment; it was an experiment, no doubt, and no doubt from year to year it will be developed and be renewed, but we contend that we have passed beyond the experimental stage into that of a steadfast success. There are a few other societies with the same purpose, but on various plans and methods, none identical with Papworth. From these we may be continually learning something; but we want Papworth to win the race; to show

1924 itself the champion anti-tuberculosis association. We think it takes the first place now, and we are determined it shall always be in the vanguard. We are in an honourable competition, and we shall win if everyone, from the least to the chiefest, will live by Queen Mary's motto—"Be cheerful, do your best, and make the best of everything"; then Papworth will hold the field.

1925

"The Times" of January 6 contained a letter from him on vitamins in bread, in which, as a member of the Royal Society (War) Committee, he supported the chairman—the late Professor Noel Paton—in his advocacy of a larger percentage of milling in bread. The last of his letters, published during his lifetime, appeared in the same paper on February 14 in connection with the proposed alteration, artistically for the worse, of the bridge over the Rotha's "living wave" close to Grasmere churchyard; it pleaded for the preservation of the beauties of Lakeland scenery. In the number of the *Lancet* containing his obituary there was a letter,¹ dated February 17, from him on alkalis in certain diseases of the skin in connection with some recent correspondence in its pages. A review,² which he had passed for press, of Dr. W. H. S. Jones' *The Doctor's Oath: The Early Forms of the Hippocratic Oath*, also appeared in the *Classical Review* after his death.

Active to the last, he was busy during the last months of his life with a book of a hundred pages, the expansion of a post-graduate lecture at Cambridge, *Arteriosclerosis: A Summary View*, which he was

¹ *Lancet*, 1925, i. 464.

² *Classical Rev.*, London, 1925, xxxix. 139.

most anxious to finish, as he now recognized that the 1925
sands of his life were running out, and accordingly
had decided to retire in July 1925, when he would
have entered his ninetieth year. This work, brought
out by Macmillan & Co., was actually finished and
contained references to papers published within a
few weeks of his death, but he did not live to see the
proofs. In the preface he wrote: "Since the publica-
tion of my larger work (*Diseases of Arteries including
Angina Pectoris*, 1915) I have collected more cases,
with necropsies, reinforcing and illustrating the dis-
tinction between hyperpiesia and chronic renal dis-
ease; but as such proofs now abound, and this survey
must be brief, I have given results only, postponing
the case reports for some other opportunity". With
regard to periodic blood-pressure estimations of every-
one at five-yearly intervals, which he was one of the
first to suggest in 1905 and now have become popular
in America as a prophylactic measure, he said: "This
rule would indeed set up an epidemic of fidgets". He
deprecatd the injunction to abstain from treating
high blood-pressure because it is a symptom only and
not the disease, and because it is compensatory, a
view which he obviously thought unsatisfactory, and
said: "Until we find the key to the metabolic lock,
why not treat a symptom, if the symptom itself be a
nuisance?" As an immediate method of treatment for
high blood-pressure he spoke highly of diathermy.

Except for the affliction of deafness, borne with
exemplary patience, Allbutt never grew old, his
vigorous physical health corresponding with his long
record of wonderful mental activity. Though he had
several accidents when bicycling about Cambridge,
he had escaped severe illness and, except during

1925 three attacks of tonsillitis before he was thirty, and an influenzal illness in the spring of 1924, had never spent a day in bed; this immunity was no doubt due to careful personal hygiene, which included mountain climbing and walking. On several occasions he described his method of protection against colds and other infections by washing the mouth, throat, and nasal passages with a mild antiseptic, and had been known to say that after the age of forty-five everyone would be better without their natural teeth. A curious symptom, however, for which he never consulted a medical man, first occurred fourteen years before his death, when he suddenly woke up and found that his breathing had stopped, though he could continue to do so by definite voluntary effort; naturally enough he at first thought that this was cardiac and that his last hour had come. But after this it recurred about once a year, and he noticed that in a mild degree this symptom might come on when he was deeply interested in reading. He was the subject, especially in his later years, of various dietetic and drug idiosyncrasies of which he not uncommonly spoke. Some of these may perhaps be traced to a gouty inheritance largely kept in check by abstemious habits; at any rate, port always gave him cramp, and bouillon in the evening was followed by a sleepless night; if he drank tea during the day he invariably woke up at 4 A.M. with a pulse rate suddenly raised to 160, a reaction which lasted for twenty minutes, and then went off as suddenly. Coffee on the other hand slowed his pulse, normally only 48, and accordingly he contented himself with milk and water in the place of tea and coffee. By taking five grains of thyroid extract he could bring

on the symptoms of Graves' disease with great nervousness and tremor. He indeed thought that his thyroid gland and vagus were more dominant than in the average man. Other drugs, such as salicylates, acted powerfully upon him, and he had to be careful to take small doses only. His idiosyncrasy to tobacco smoke, mentioned above (p. 282), was an additional drawback to the public dinners which, however, he cheerfully attended. A moderate but not fastidious eater, he took most foods as they came, but sparingly of meat; wine he seldom touched, although, as a member of the Leeds Conversational Club (*vide* p. 29), he was an authority on vintage clarets, a faculty which he described, with a smile, at dinner a few days before his death, as always expected in a successful Yorkshire practitioner.

On February 21 he was fairly well, and worked until eleven at night, when he went to bed, but awoke with urgent breathlessness, and ten minutes later, at 1 A.M. on Sunday morning, he died before his medical adviser arrived, and, as he would have wished, in the full tide of his activities.

The funeral service, on February 25, was held in the chapel of Gonville and Caius College, where William Harvey worshipped and John Caius lies buried under the simple inscription: "Fui Caius"; at the same time there was a memorial service in Great St. Mary's Church. He was then borne through the Gate of Honour, Senate House Passage, and King's Parade to Trumpington Churchyard.

The gross value of his estate was £56,963, and the net personalty £50,137. To the Fitzwilliam Museum he left his portrait by Sir William Orpen, R.A., and, on the death of his wife, a quantity of

1925 antique furniture and drawings and paintings by noted artists, including Landseer, Crome, Romney, Rossetti, G. F. Watts, J. M. W. Turner, and Fripp. To Gonville and Caius College three silver and gilt drinking horns or cups (known as Swedish cups), requesting that his name as donor should be engraved thereon. Subject to the fulfilment of personal bequests and life interests and the failure of issue, the ultimate residue of his property was left to Gonville and Caius College to found Clifford Allbutt Fellowships for medical research, or otherwise for the benefit of the College in the discretion of the Master and Fellows, provided that no part thereof be used for building.

During his eighty-nine years there had been changes which it is difficult to imagine will ever be rivalled in the history of medicine. Born before the introduction of anaesthesia, he had seen the birth and development of bacteriology and immunology and of antiseptic and aseptic surgery, the creation of the nursing profession, the astonishing progress of public health and preventive medicine, the scientific study of tropical medicine, the discovery of X-rays and radium and of vitamins and their application to medical practice, the development of neurology, cardiology, bio-chemistry, endocrinology, and specialism, and many other advances. In the course of nearly sixty-five years of active professional life he made many additions to the science and art of medicine. Some of these are now so incorporated in common knowledge and practice

that our indebtedness in this respect is largely forgotten, such as the invention of the form of clinical thermometer now in use, the description of syphilitic disease of the cerebral arteries, and the separation of hyperpiesia or the condition of high-blood pressure of obscure origin from that of kidney disease. As has been shown in this record of his activities, his contributions covered a very wide field; but the circulatory system received his special attention: for example, the stimulus he gave to the study of arterial blood-pressure, his share in establishing the routine use of the sphygmomanometer in medical practice, and his view of the relation between high blood-pressure and arterial disease; his advocacy of the aortic origin of angina pectoris; and the influence of strain and overwork on the heart and arteries. These subjects he continuously elaborated in the light of his fresh observations, and correlated with the work of others, on which he kept an ever-watchful eye. Though it may still be too soon to form a mature opinion, it would seem probable that his claim to fame will be even greater when, with the passage of years, his work is seen in proper perspective.

He was a scholar in the broadest sense, a profound medical historian, and a persistent advocate of the need for a sound general education as a basis of medical training. In Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Garrison's words,¹ "few approached him in literary style and the power to stimulate thought". But he was far more than a scholar or a learned man, for his combination of versatility, wisdom, true religion, and humanity was of a kind extremely rare, if not

¹ Garrison, F., *History of Medicine*, p. 630, 4th edition, 1929.

dying out, in a world that has witnessed many changes in a comparatively short time.

In early life an original investigator both in the laboratory and the wards, then a busy consulting physieian, and after that for thirty-two years a Regius Professor with a world-wide reputation, he was throughout an independent thinker, a cultivated man of letters, and a philosopher; but greater even than these were the eharacter and personal influence of the man who became the undisputed doyen of his profession in this country.

Always young in mind, he was in sympathy with all sorts and eonditions of men in many lands, and, though wisely eritieal and not carried away by them, with new ideas. Ever alert to weleome the germ of a real advancee and generous in eneouraging unknown writers, he took the keenest interest in new projects for the advanceement of seienee in eonneetion with medieine, and indeed with everything that was wholesome and true. With a mind that ran on large lines, he saw a subject in all its aspeets, so that though, when the problem presented was already familiar, he would express his opinion at once and agree, perhaps with some reservation, or quite frankly dissent, at other times he would postpone judgement until he could eonsider it at leisure. Thus he avoided the mistake of supporting a fallaeious though at first sight promising departure or movement. Essentially a humanist, he was a modern scholar-physieian, and, while feeling the pulse of advanceing seienee and reading omnivorously in French, German, and English, never let his knowledge of Latin and Greek get rusty. A lover of the contents rather than of the editions of books, he

had with discrimination collected a library ranging widely over the intellectual as well as the professional aspects of knowledge. As has been suggested in earlier parts of this record, he was essentially artistic, a lover of music and the arts, extremely critical in his use of the written word, and a judicious, discriminating, and persuasive speaker, with an excellent delivery of matter ever fresh and interesting.

With hair that turned white somewhat early and a fresh complexion, with his well-groomed appearance and urbanity, he would have been taken by a stranger for a distinguished man of the world rather than for the scholarly professor. Aristocratic in appearance and courtly in manner he was the most approachable of men, modest almost to a fault as regards his own attainments, enthusiastic in praise of his colleagues and juniors, and so tolerant that he seemed never to notice any small shortcomings. With the delightful equanimity and serenity that made for happiness in his fellows, and an eager welcome from those privileged to be his companions in work or pleasure, there was nothing of the *laudator temporis acti* spirit or of the attitude of superiority which sometimes marks those in a senior position. In his long and varied life he acted up to the dictum that "only two things are essential—to live uprightly and to be wisely industrious". With a genius for friendship and much given to hospitality, he was wonderfully seconded by his wife during their fifty-six years of married life, as many generations of Leeds students and Cambridge undergraduates gratefully remember.

INDEX

- Abbott, Maude E., 240
 Abney, W. de W., 51
 Ackworth, enteric fever at, 43
 Acland, Sir Henry W., 41, 108, 109, 145, 250
 Adami, J. G., 118, 138, 233, 234
 Adams-Stokes syndrome, 254
 Addenbrooke's Hospital, 111, 133
 Aitkin, Sir William, 35
 Albuminuria and pregnancy, 132
 Aleuin, 8
 Allbutt, Edward, 5
 Allbutt, George, 1, 21
 Allbutt, John, 1
 Allbutt, Lady, 5, 43
 Allbutt, Mrs. Marianne, 2
 Allbutt, Miss Marianne, 5
 Allbutt, Sarah Isabella, 5
 Allbutt, Rev. Thomas, 1, 39
 Allbutt, Sir T. Clifford, birth, 1
 early years, 1-19
 school days, 7
 enters Gonville and Caius College, 9
 his artistic temperament, 11
 medical education, 12
 post-graduate study, 14
 consulting physician at Leeds, 20
 medical appointments at Leeds, 21
 medical school appointments, 27
 waiting period, 28, 31
 his clinical thermometer, 36
 his love of music and organs, 37, 82
 elected F.S.A., 39
 marriage, 43
 his love of mountain-climbing, 50, 234, 281
- Allbutt, Sir T. Clifford (*contd.*)—
 as prototype of Lydgate in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, 59-61
 character as a consultant, 65
 M.R.C.P., 74
 Goulstonian Lecturer, 74, 84, 86
 elected F.R.S., 80
 removal to Carr Manor, 81
 elected F.R.C.P., 84
 retires from staff of Leeds Infirmary, 88
 as a clinical teacher, 89
 visit to Switzerland, 37, 94
 Commissioner in Lunacy, 95
 moves to London, 95
 professional income at Leeds, 98
 and the "Sunday tramps", 100
 appointed Regius Professor, 108
 elected Fellow of Caius, 109
 Physician to Addenbrooke's, 111, 133
 moves to Cambridge, 114
 his *System of Medicine*, 117, 120
 System of Gynaecology, 120
 visit to Greece, 125
 visit to Italy, 129, 142
 views on women doctors, 130
 visit to Moscow, 136
 visit to America, 137-139, 165, 167
 Lane Lecturer, 137
 visit to Japan, 137
 visit to Canada, 138, 177
 Hon. M.D., Dublin, 140
 Hon. D.Sc., Manchester, 140
 Examiner, R.C.P., 141
 Harveian Orator, R.C.P., 145

Allbutt, Sir T. Clifford (*contd.*)—
 Robert Boyle Lecturer, 149
 Cavendish Lecturer, 155
 Cons. Phys., Belgrave Hosp. for Children, 157
 his *Notes on Composition of Scientific Papers*, 159
 his literary composition and style, 160-163, 203
 his use of medical terms, 161, 203
 delegate to St. Louis Exhibition, 165
 visit to Paris, 171
 elected D.Sc., Leeds, 177
 knighthood, 182
 dinner in his honour, 185
 Censor, R.C.P., 185, 224
 representative on General Medical Council, 186
 anticipates a Ministry of Health, 187
 his portraits, 188, 251
 FitzPatrick Lecturer, R.C.P., 191, 194, 197
 elected LL.D., St. Andrews, 201
 interest in National Insurance Act, 201, 206, 217
 Finlayson Lecturer, 207
 member of Medical Research Council, 208
 D.Sc., Durham, 210
 Linares Lecturer, 212
 war duties, 214, 221
 views on professional fees, 219
 views on compulsory Greek, 223
 as a lay preacher, 226, 242, 249, 252
 as a staunch Churchman, 227
 his spiritual life, 227-229
 interest in theological questions, 228
 President of Papworth Village Settlement, 231
 President, British Medical Association, 236, 265
 Hon. Fellow of Royal Society of Medicine, 243
 Privy Councillor, 251
 Moxon Medallist, 259
 B.M.A. gold medallist, 264
 President, West London Postgraduate College, 268

Allbutt, Sir T. Clifford (*contd.*)—
 West London Medico-Chirurgical Society medallist, 272
 his tributes to Osler, 241, 274, 287
 his love of the English Lakes, 234, 281
 signs of impaired health, 287, 289, 294
 last days, 293, 294
 idiosyncrasies, 294
 death, 295
 his estate, 295
 advances in medicine during his lifetime, 297
 his literary style, 160, 297
 personal characteristics, 294, 298
 Allbutt Library, 251
 Almer, Christian, 50
 Alpine climbing, 50, 51, 62, 63, 85, 174. *See also* Mountain-climbing
 Amber, 122
 American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 263
 Anderogg, Melchior, 50
 Anderson, Sir Hugh, 251, 254
 Andrew, James, 75
 Angina pectoris, 125, 126, 137, 215
 cause, 191, 263, 271, 285
 earliest account of, 284
 early experience of, 13
 nature of, 193
 origin of, 126
 pathogeny of, 136
 surgical relief of, 258, 284
 treatment of, 188, 271
 Animal pathology, 93, 94. *See also* Pathology, comparative
 Annotation of books, 29
 Aortic disease, 155, 156
 Aortic origin of angina pectoris and hyperpiesia, 126
 Aortic regurgitation, 77
 Aortitis, 156
 Apoplexy, 155, 170
 Appendicitis, 195, 196
 Appendix dyspepsia, 195, 196
 Aran, F. A., 48
 Argyll Robertson pupil, 127
 Army Medical Service, 149
 Arterial pressure, causes of rise of, 154. *See also* Hyperpiesia

- Arteries, diseases of, 137, 214
 Arteriosclerosis, 127, 153
 and renal disease, 199
 and smoking, 283
 blood-pressure in, 153, 271.
 See also Hyperpiesia
 causes, 183
 classification of, 153, 178
 his book on, 215
 last work on, 293
 nature of, 178
 treatment, 271
 Association of American Physicians, 248
 Association of Physicians of Great Britain and Ireland, 211
 Asthma, cardiac, 151, 200
 Athenacum, The, 100
 Athens, visit to, 125
 Athletics, 193
 Avebury, Lord, 172
- Babbage, Charles, 56
 Bacon, Francis, 24, 207
 Bacon, Roger, 146, 149, 150
 Bagot, Sir Charles S., 97
 Bailey, James Blake, 92
 Baines, Sir Edward, 46
 Balfour, Lord, 285
 Banks, Sir John T., 43
 Barclay, A. E., 236
 Barlow, Sir Thomas, 122, 178, 181, 224
 Barr, Sir James, 286
 Barrs, A. G., 89
 Bastian, H. Charlton, 43, 61
 Bastianelli, 143
 Bazire, P. V., 14
 Beaunis, 103
 Beck, E. A., 169
 Belgrave Hospital for Children, 157
 Bell-ringing, 6, 270
 Bennett, Sir James Risdon, 74
 Bernard, Claude, 179
 Bernheim, H., 103
 Besley, E. S., 60
 Bethune-Baker, J. F., 228
 Bewick's engravings, 23
 Bignami, A., 143
 Billings, J. S., 139, 167
 Bio-chemistry, 236
 Birch-Hirschfeld, 140
- Bird, Golding, 13
 Blandford, G. F., 126
 Bland-Sutton, Sir John, 253, 254
 Blood, viscosity of, 199
 Blood pressure, 170, 184
 and arteriosclerosis, 153
 importance in clinical medicine, 173
 in later life, 153, 154
 periodic estimations of, 293
 See also Hyperpiesia
 Blood tension, 134
 Bodington, George, 70
 Bond, H. J. Hales, 105, 106
 Bonney, Thomas George, 50, 283
 Bousfield, C. E., 30
 Bowlby, Sir Anthony, 195
 Bradbury, J. B., 131, 164
 Brady, William, 225
 Brain, "choked disc" in disease of, 57, 59
 syphilitic disease of, 40, 58
 "Brain-forcing" in schools, 73, 86
 Bramwell, J. Milne, 103
 Braybrooke, Lord, 158
 Bread, vitamins in, 292
 Brehmer, H., 70
 Bridges, J. H., 60
 Bridges, Robert, 101
 Bright's disease, 68, 205
 British Medical Association, gold medal, 264
 President, 66, 236, 250, 265
 Broadbent, Sir Wm., 43, 54, 68, 109, 114, 140, 152, 154, 171, 182
 Brock, J. A., 226
 Brontë family, 2, 3, 4
 Brown, Sir Charles, 177, 181, 268
 Browne, Edward G., 258
 Browne, Sir Thomas, 172
 Browning, Oscar, 62
 Brunton, Sir Lauder, 57, 141, 142, 165, 193, 218
 Burdon-Sanderson, Sir John, 118, 164, 165, 174, 239
 Bury, Judson, 144
 Butler, Rev. H. M., 139
 Butlin, Sir Henry, 196
 Buzzard, Thomas, 16
 "Byzantine Medicine", 191, 207
- Caian Scholarship, 9
 Caius, John, 251

- Cambridge, Addenbrooke's Hospital and the Regius Professors, 111, 133
 arms of the Regius Professor of Physic, 107
 degrees for women at, 129, 259
 Diploma in Medical Radiology and Electrology, 235, 253
 examinations in pharmacology, 131
 Gonville and Caius College, 9
 Gonville and Caius Fellowship, 109
 Greek at, 168, 223
 Licence to practice physic, 12
 Natural Sciences Tripos, 150
 Regius Professor of Physic at, 97, 105, 111
 stipend, 107
 Regius Professors at, 105, 107
 Regius Professorship, custom and procedure, 109, 110, 111
 smallpox outbreak (1903), 21
 superannuation of Professors, 257
 Surgery Professorship at, 133
 "The Apostles", 29
 Tropical Medicine and Hygiene Diploma, 155
 University library, 169
 women students at, 130, 131
 Cambridge Appointments Association, 142
 Cambridge Conversation Society, 29
 Cambridge Hospital for Special Diseases, 181
 Cambridge Institute of Comparative Pathology, 243
 Cambridge Medical School, 131, 135, 211
 and Addenbrooke's Hospital, 111, 133
 need for new building, 131, 143
 opening of the new building, 164
 rebuilding of, 136
 Cambridge Medical Society, 128
 Cambridge University Association, 139
 Campbell, Colin, 151
 Campbell, Harry, 154
 Camphor, homocopathic, 63
 Canada, visit to, 178
 Canterbury, King's School, 7
 Cardiac asthma and dyspnoea, 151, 200
 Cardiac delirium, 283
 Cardiac pathology, 204
 Cardio-arterial disease, 127. *See also* Heart
 Carr Manor, Meanwood, 81
 Caton, Richard, 148
 Celli, A., 143
 Celsius' thermometer, 36
 Cerebral arteries, syphilis of, 40.
See also Nervous System.
 Cervical glands, enlarged, 89, 90, 122
 Chadwick, Charles, 5, 21, 24, 28, 43, 65, 98, 124
 Chadwick, C. M., 65
 on Allbutt as a consultant, 65
 Chadwick, William, 5
 Champouillon, 48
 Chareot, J. M., 103
 death and appreciation of, 122, 123
 Chareot's tabetic hydrarthrosis, 42
 Cheadle, W. B., 10
 Chest, exploration of, 59
 Cheyne, Sir Wm. Watson, 181
 Chlorosis, 147
 "Choked disc", 57, 59
 Christian, Henry, 245
 Christison, Sir Robert, 67
 Church, Sir Wm., 145, 180
 Churchill, Winston, 148
 Clark, Sir Andrew, 108
 Clark, J. Willis, 169
 Clark, E. Kitson, 30
 Clarke, Jacob A. Lockhart, 12, 14, 18, 41, 43, 53
 Classical education, 113, 168, 169
Classical Review, contributions to, 128, 139, 153, 164, 187, 198, 209, 222, 225, 232, 256, 275, 290, 292
 Classical scholarship, 276
 Classics *versus* Science, 217
 Clifford, Edward, 5
 Clifton Asylum, 40
 Clinical units, 235, 242, 260
 Colchester Military Hospital, 221
 Cold baths, 55

- Collier, William, 164, 190
 Comparative pathology. *See*
 Pathology
 Composition of scientific papers,
 159-163, 269
 Comte, Auguste, 12, 60
 Congreve, Richard, 60
 Conjoint Examining Board, phar-
 macology examinations, 131
 Consultations, need for, 101
 Consulting work, 27, 65, 89, 96,
 98
 Consumption. *See* Tuberculosis
 Contract practice, 202, 280
 Conway, Sir Martin, 50
 Cooke, Arthur, 12
 Cooper Medical College, San
 Francisco, 137
 Cormack, Sir John Rose, 14
 Corrigan, Sir Dominic, 125
 Crane, John, 107
 Crawford and Blearres, Earl of,
 11
 Crawford, Raymond, 201
 Creighton, Charles, 101
 Crichton-Browne, Sir James, 41,
 57, 83, 96, 251
 letters to, 148, 183
 Criminal responsibility of the in-
 sane, 126
 Cronin, C. W., 141
 Cronin, Rev. H. S., 64, 141, 267
 Crookes, Sir Wm., 170
 Crookshank, F. G., 118, 272
 Crosby, Sir Thomas, 204, 205
 Cullen, Wm., 144
 Cummins, Lyle, 253
 Cunningham, C. D., 50
 Currie, James, 35, 55
 Curtis, J. G., 216
 Cushing, Harvey, 241
 letters to, 249, 274, 287
 Cushny, A. R., 193
 "Cyanotic delirium", 90, 91
 Cyclists' Touring Club, 52
 Dally, J. F. Halls, 269
 Darwin, Charles, 227
 Darwinian Theory, 156
 Davies, Emily, 130
 Davos treatment, 70, 71
 Davy, John, 35
 Degrees, for women, 129, 130
 honorary, 140, 177, 201, 210
 Delirium, cardiac, 286
 "cyanotic" or "travelling", 90,
 91
 Dent, Clinton, 50, 101, 157
 Devonshire, Duke of, 139
 Devouassoud, François, 50, 51
 Dewsbury, early recollections of,
 5, 6
 Dickinson, W. H., 9, 10, 12, 42,
 53, 73
 Diet, 63, 167, 294
 Disease, causes of, 68, 69
 classification of, 38, 93, 118
 definition of, 179
 electrical treatment, 53
 general observations on, 170
 investigation of special dis-
 eases, 180, 181
 names applied to, 178
 nature of, 36, 47, 54, 170, 175,
 179, 244
 nomenclature of diseases, 203
 open-air treatment, 32-34, 41,
 48, 49
 treatment of, 47, 54
 use of the term, 203
 vicious circles in, 198
 Dispensaries for tuberculosis, 261,
 262
 Dixon, W. E., 170, 186, 194
 Dobie, William, 148
 Dreschfield, Julius, 84, 151
 Dublin Honorary Degree, 140
 Duchenne, G. B. A., 14-16, 18, 41
 Duckworth, Sir Dyce, 194
 Dufferin and Ava, Marquis of, 20
 du Val's thermometer, 34, 36
 Dying declarations, 42
 Dyspepsia, 44, 195, 196
 Dyspnoea, 151, 200
 morphine in, 44
 Eddison, J. E., 23, 24, 78, 187
 Eden, T. W., 121
 Edinburgh Royal Medical Society,
 175, 176
 Education, "brain-foreing" dur-
 ing, 73
 classical, 113, 168, 169
 function of science in, 189, 217,
 218
 modern, and health, 73, 86
 secondary, 205, 218
 observations on, 101, 172

Education (*contd.*)—

- university, function of, 113
- See also* Medical education
- Edward VII., 164
- Einstein, 228
- Electrotherapy, 53, 64
- Eliot, George, 4, 30, 55
 - supposed delineation of Allbutt by, 59-61
- Empyema, 26
- Encyclopaedia of Medicine*, 210
- Endocarditis, malignant, 75
- England, Margaret, 64, 125, 129, 141
- English composition, 160-163, 273
- Enteric fever, propagation of, 43
- Eugenics, 115, 152, 156
- Ewald, C. A., 196, 214
- “Facts” and “theories”, 160, 203
- Fahrenheit’s thermometer, 34
- Faith-healing, 196
- Farr, William, 38
- Fees, professional, 219, 220
- Fell and Rock Climbing Club, 51
- Ferrier, Sir David, 57, 166
- Fever hospitals, early, 21
- Fevers, 22
 - and infectious diseases, 114
 - early experience of, 21
 - free ventilation in treatment, 32, 34, 41, 42, 49
- Fildes, Sir Luke, 100
- Finlayson Lecture, 207
- FitzPatrick Lectures, R.C.P., 191, 194, 197, 234
- Fletcher, Sir Walter, 208
- Florio, Commendatore, 142
- Foster, Sir Michael, 105, 109, 129, 130, 131, 158
- Fothergill, J. Milner, 57
- Fowler, Sir J. Kingston, 142, 147, 261
- Fox, Wilson, 55, 174
- Frere, W. H., 97
- Fresh-air treatment, 32, 34, 41, 49, 70, 142
- Freshfield, D. W., 50
- Freyer, Sir Peter, 259
- Fuller, H. W., 12
- Gairdner, Sir W. T., 16, 18, 43, 93, 102, 103, 206

- Galitzin, Prince, 136
- Garrison, Lt.-Col. F. H., 17, 38, 76, 226, 256
 - letters to, 18, 191, 268, 274, 286
- Gaskell’s *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, 2, 3
- Gastric lavage, 43
- Gauvain, Sir Henry, 273
- Gee, Samuel, 120
- General Medical Council, 52, 186, 187
- General paralysis and syphilis, 98, 99
- Gesner, Conrad, 277, 278
- Gibson, Geo. Alexander, 142, 176, 199, 206
- Giddiness, 64
- Glisson, Francis, 106, 225, 251
- Glover, T. R., letter to, 276
- Goodhart, Sir James, 69, 87
- Gosse, Sir Edmund, 3, 4, 289
- Gott, Bishop John, 24, 173
- Goulstonian Lectureship, R.C.P., 74, 75, 84, 86
- Gout, 246, 247
- Gowers, Sir William, 58, 166, 179
- Grassi, 143
- Graves’ Disease, 92
- Gray, Alan, letter to, 36, 37
- Greek at Cambridge, 168, 223
- Greek medicine, 191, 194, 197, 212, 232, 256, 275, 280
- Greek Medicine in Rome*, 191, 194, 197, 232, 256
- Green, Christopher, 106
- Griffith, T. Wardrop, 20, 52
 - letter to, 116
- Gull, Sir Wm., 83, 115
- Gumprecht, 53
- Gunn, Marcus, 58
- Gynaecologists, 166
- Gynaecology, 87, 88
 - A System of Gynaecology*, 120, 121
- Haldane, J. S., 147, 270
- Hall, William, 279
- Hallam, A. H., 29
- Hallett, Sir Frederiek G., 265
- Halsbury, Lord, 97
- Hardwick Clinical Prize, 24
- Hardwick, R. G., 24
- Hardy, Thomas, 103

- Harrison, Frederic, 60
 Hart, Ernest, 196
 Harveian Oration, R.C.P., 20, 75, 145
 Haslip, G. E., 287
 Haughton, Samuel, 54
 Haviland, John, 212
 Heart disease, Adams-Stokes syndrome, 254
 among miners, 46
 alcoholic dilatation, 149
 arrhythmia of, 149
 asthma of, 151, 200
 delirium of, 90
 "disordered action", 222
 mechanical strain causing, 45, 62, 137
 modern aspects of, contro-
 versy with Sir James Mac-
 kenzie, 226
 morphine in, 44, 48
 pathology of, 204
 Heart Hospital (Hampstead), 221
 Heaton, John Deakin, 24, 46, 48
 death and appreciation of, 78
 Heberden, Wm., the elder, 212, 284
 Heiberg, J. L., 209
 Hellenic Society, 125
 Hemiplegia, functional, in preg-
 nancy, 49
 Henslowe, George, 11
 Herringham, Sir Wilmot, 174, 188
 Heubner, 40
 Hey, Samuel, 24
 Hey, William, 8, 24, 25, 81
 Hey, Wm., secundus, 56
 Hill, Alex, 108, 139
 Hobday, F., 253, 265
 Hobson, Richard, 27, 98
 Hodgson's disease, 156
 Holidays, necessity for, 51, 52
 Holmes, Timothy, 14
 Holth, S., 256
 Honorary degrees, 140, 177, 201, 210
 Hope, James, 46
 Hopkins, Sir Gowland, 187, 208, 246
 Horder, Sir Thomas, 75
 Horner, N. G., 269
 Horsley, Sir Victor, 157, 166, 181
 Hospital Medical Units, 235, 242, 260
 Hospitals, 187
 pavilion type of, 25
 Hough, C. H., 281
 Hughes, T. McKenny, 122
 Humphry, Sir Geo. Murray, 12, 84, 105, 131, 133, 250
 Hunkin, Archdeacon, 227
 Hunt, Leigh, 1
 Hunter, John, 24
 Huntington's chorea, 233
 Hurry, J. B., 198
 Hurst, A. F., 254
 Hutchinson, Sir Jonathan, 180
 Hutchison, Robert, 194
 Huxley, Thomas Henry, 251
 Hydrology, medical, 254
 Hydrophobia, 58
 Hyperpiesia, 55, 128, 134, 137, 154, 199, 215, 293
 causes of, 154
 origin of, 126
 treatment, 55, 173, 174, 293
 Hyperpyrexia, 72
 Hypnotism and suggestion, 102, 103
 Hypodermic medication, 44, 45
 Ilkeston, Lord, 142
 Income, professional, 98
 Industrial disease, first systematic account of, 25
 Infantile paralysis, 53
 Influenza, 171, 180, 280
 Insanity, 99, 100
 and neurasthenia, 152
 and syphilis, 98, 99
 hospitals for the insane, 104
 in criminal cases, 126
 investigation of cause and cure, 180
 treatment of, 168, 179
 Insurance Acts, 201, 202, 206, 217, 280
 International Medical Congresses, 83, 136, 209
 Iodides, in arterial diseases, 188
 Isle of Wight, 7
 Italy, visit to, 129
 Iveagh, Lord, 213
 Jackson, J. Hughlings, 13, 16, 18, 56, 57

- Jameson, Rev. K., 226
 Japan, visit to, 137
 Jebb, Sir R. C., 139
 Jenkinson, Francis J. H., 169
 Jenner, Sir Wm., 18, 19, 41, 72
 opposition to women doctors, 75
 Jessop, T. R., 26
 Johnson, George, 73
 Johnson, Samuel, 10
 Jones, C. Handfield, 54
 Jones, Henry Benec, 12, 13
 Jones, W. H. S., 290
 Juan, Johann, 63
- Kanthaek, A. A., 117, 118, 177
 Keen, W. W., 243
 Keith, Sir Arthur, 289
 Kennedy, Thomas Stuart, 30, 37, 50, 82
 Kerr, Norman, 102
 Kidney disease and arterio-sclerosis, 199
 dropsy of, 235
 ophthalmoscope in, 56
 Kidneys, granular, 68, 69, 72
 King Edward VII. Sanatorium, Midhurst, 71, 176
 Kipling, Rudyard, 100
 Knee-jerk, 127
 Knighthood, 182
 Koch, Robert, 147
 Kussmaul, Adolf, 66, 77, 152
- Laboratory investigation, 236, 237
 Lane Lectures, 137, 215
 Lang, W. H., 265
 Lankester, Sir E. Ray, 234, 290
 Latham, Arthur, 11
 Latham, John, 11
 Latham, Peter Mere, 11
 Latham, Peter Wallwork, 10, 111
 and Sir M. Foster, 158
 Latin, as a language, 175
 teaching of, 169
 Law and medicine, 78, 174
 Law Courts, medical witnesses in, 78-80
 Leeds, consulting practice at, 27, 28, 65, 89, 96, 98
 early life at, 20
 early practice and "waiting period" at, 28
- Leeds (*contd.*)—
 eminent physicians at, 98
 professional income at, 98
 surgery at, 25, 26
 "team-work" at, 27
 Leeds and County Club, 30
 Leeds Conversation Club, 29
 Leeds Dispensary, 22
 Leeds General Infirmary, 27, 188
 early days of, 24, 25
 physician to, 24
 retirement from the staff, 88
 Leeds House of Recovery, 18, 22
 nurses and cases at, 21
 physician to, 21
 treatment of fevers in, 49
 typhus fever at (1865-66), 32-34
 Leeds Medical School, work and lectures at, 27
 Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 23, 46, 76
 Leeds and West Riding Medico-Chirurgical Society, 83, 91
 Legal cases, medical evidence in, 78-80
 Leighton, Lord, 100
 Levine, S. A., 221, 222
 Lewes, George Henry, 14, 16, 18, 30, 61
 Lewis, Sir Thomas, 204, 221
 Liard, M., 171
 Liébault, 103
 Linaere Lecture, 212
 Lister Institute, 213
 Lister, Lord, 210
 Literary composition and style, 161-163, 273, 297
 Littlewood, H., 258
 Liverpool University, 157
 Lloyd Roberts Lecture, 288
 Lockwood, Lucy, 129
 Lockwood, Sir Frank, 129
 Lockyer, Sir Norman, 252
 Locomotor ataxia, 41
 Long, Lord, 58
 Longevity, 42
 Loomis, A. L., 72
 Lorking, Thomas, 106
 Lumleian Lectures, R.C.P., 226
 Lunacy, Commissioner in, 95, 96, 97
 Lunacy. *See* Insanity.
 Lunatic asylums, 40
 Lupton, Alan, 44

- Lydgate, Tertius, Allbutt as the prototype of, 59-62
 MacAlister, Sir Donald, 101, 131, 181, 186
 MacAlister, Sir J. Y. W., 92
 MacCormack, Henry, 70
 Macewen, Sir Wm., 166, 243, 265
 McFadycan, Sir John, 253
 McGill, A. F., 259
 MacIlwaine, S. W., 204
 Mackenzie, Sir James, 29, 68, 150, 176, 186, 200, 221, 226, 244, 246, 285
 Mackenzie, Sir Stephen, 72
 Makins, Sir George, 250
 Malaria, 142, 143
 Manchester Victoria University honorary degree, 140
 Manson, Sir Patrick, 142, 155, 243
 Marriage, 43
 Marsh, Howard, 133, 164, 181, 185
 appreciation of, 213
 Marshall, Horace, 20
 Marshall, Thomas, 20, 146
 Martine, George, 35
 Matthews, C. E., 50
 Maurice, F. D., 29
 Mayo, Frank, 65
 Mediastinal sarcoma, 67
 Medical education, 110, 171, 172, 176, 232, 250, 266
 in London, 171
 observations on, 110, 187, 244
 past and present, 266
 "Medical etiquette", 85
 Medical evidence in legal cases, 78-80
 Medical practice, apprenticeships in, 101, 102
 need for consultations in, 101
 Medical profession and public morality, 91
 Medical reform, 52
 Medical research, 208, 236, 237, 243, 244
 Allbutt Fellowships, 296
 controversy with Sir James Mackenzie, 226
 Universities and, 250
 Medical Research Committee, 207, 208, 213, 220
 Medical student, training of, 266
 Medical terms, correct use of, 160, 178, 191, 273
 Medical Units in Hospitals, 235, 242, 260
 Medicine, *A System of Medicine*, 117-119
 and law, 174
 and music, 11, 268
 and psychology, 99
 and surgery, 83, 155
 artificial distinction between, 32
 historical relations, 166
 relations of, 220
 broad outlook in, 115
 clinical, 233
 Greek, 191, 194, 197, 212, 232, 275, 280
 history of, 167, 274, 280, 286
 in 1800, 144
 integration of, 277
 in the nineteenth century, 138
 in the twelfth century, 236
 modern, observations on, 232, 233
 on the study of, 144, 145
 post-graduate study, 145
 progress and development of, 46, 47, 135, 296
 specialism in, 166, 167, 266
 teaching of, observations on, 112, 144, 145
 theory and practice in, 135
 Menière syndrome, 17
 Mental anxiety, as cause of kidney disease, 68, 69
 Mental hospitals, 104
 Mercier, Charles A., 126, 219
 Meredith, George, 101
 Metchnikoff, 154
 Metallotherapy, 72
 Michell, R. W., 121, 217
 Mickleburgh Scholarship, 9
Middlemarch, 59, 60
 Miners, heart disease among, 46
 Ministry of Health, 187
 Mitchell, Weir, 120
 Moon, R. O., 290
 Moore, Sir Norman, 205, 212, 250
 Morphine, 55, 278, 279
 in cardiac disease, 45, 48
 in dyspepsia, 44
 in neuralgia, 44
 in uraemic asthma, 71

- Morris, Sir Henry, 180, 196
 Morris, Sir Malcolm, 142
 Mott, Sir Frederick W., 118, 197
 letter to, 99
 Moulton, Lord, 208
 Mount Vernon Hospital, 176
 Mountain-climbing, 50, 51, 85,
 234, 281
 beneficial effects of, 174
 effect on power of speech,
 85
 physical effects of, 56, 62, 63
 Moxon Medal, 259
 Moxon, W., 31
 Moynihan, Lord, 14, 81, 153, 195,
 225
 letter to, 26
 Muir, R., 265
 Münsterberg, 165
 Music, love of, 36, 82, 124
 medicine and, 11, 268
 Musser, J. H., 152
 Myers, A. B. R., 46
 Myers, A. T., 101
 Myotonia congenita, 157

 National Insurance Act, 201, 202,
 206, 217
 National League for Physical
 Education, 219
 Neck, enlarged glands of, 122
 scrofulous, 89, 90
 Nervous diseases, and modern
 life, 129
 ophthalmoscope in, 57
 Nervous system, syphilitic disease
 of, 40, 42, 58, 64, 258
 Neuralgia, morphine in, 44
 Neurasthenia, and insanity, 152
 Neuroses, 86, 87
 Neurotomy for tetanus, 53
 Neville-Grenville, Hon. George,
 159
 Newman, Sir George, 232, 235,
 242, 245, 247, 253, 260
 Nitrites, 188
 in angina pectoris, 263
 Nomenclature of disease, 203
 Nosology, comparative, 93, 94
Notes on the Composition of
 Scientific Papers, 159, 269
 Nuncley, Thomas, 24, 80
 Nursing and nurses, 21
 Nuttall, C. H. F., 155

 Oesophageal auscultation, 67
 Ogle, John William, 12, 13, 28,
 40, 56-58
 Open-air treatment, 48
 of fevers, 32-34, 41, 42, 49
 of pulmonary tuberculosis, 70,
 71
 Ophthalmology, 41, 56, 57
 Ophthalmoscope, 13, 39
 use of, 56-58
 Opium, in treatment of fevers, 34
 Oppenheimer, B. S., 221
 Optic neuritis, 40, 41
 Organ-playing, 36, 37, 82
 Orpen, Sir William, 251, 295
 Osler, Featherston, 138
 Osler, Lady, 248, 287
 Osler, Sir William, 61, 84, 86, 121,
 138, 140, 156, 164, 177, 180,
 185, 193, 196, 205, 211, 243,
 249
 and Allbutt, 74-76
 appointment as Regius Pro-
 fessor, 109
 appreciations of, 238-241, 245
 as an examiner, 288
 characteristics, 274
 Cushing's biography of, 288
 death of, 245
 Goulstonian Lecturer, 75
 Membership and Fellowship of
 R.C.P., 74
 on the "fixed period", 76, 156,
 172
 70th birthday celebration, 216,
 237-240
 Oxford, degrees for women at,
 129, 130
 Regius Professorship at, 105
 women students at, 259
Oxford Medicine, The, 245, 246

 Paget, Sir George, 10, 12, 30, 105,
 129, 212
 Paget, Sir James, 61, 70, 83, 94, 250
 "Paget's Disease", 70
 Palermo, visit to, 142, 143
 Palissy, Bernard, 23, 207
 Palmer, Wm., of Rugeley, 80
 Papworth Village Settlement, 71,
 261, 276, 290
 Allbutt Memorial Cottages, 231
 Presidency, 231
 work at, 262, 264

- Paracentesis pericardii, 14, 32, 42, 48, 246
 Paré, Ambroise, 207
 Paris, visit to, 171
 Parry, Caleb Hillier, 176
 Parsons, Franklin, 171
 Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 177
 Pathology, comparative, 84, 93, 94, 110, 243, 250, 254, 265
 Pavlov, I. P., 285
 Payne, Joseph Frank, 121, 136, 201
 Peacock, T. B., 46
 Pearson, Karl, 243
 Pennington, Sir Isaac, 106
 People's League of Health, 282
 Periarthritis, syphilitic, 258
 Pericardium, tapping of, 14, 32, 42, 48, 246
 Perowne, E. H., 122
 Pharmacology, examinations in, 131
 Philip, Sir Robert, 147, 209
 Philipson, Sir Geo. Hare, 10
 Phillips, C. P., 97
 Physicians, and a knowledge of surgery, 32
 and public welfare, 115
 duties of, 115
 fees of, 219, 220
 Pitt-Lewis, G., 126
 Playfair, Wm. Smoult, 87, 88, 120
 Pleura, diseases of, 116
 Pleuritic effusions, 14, 26, 72
 Plumptre, Russell, 106
 Pneumonia, 129
 Pope, Sir W. J., 255
 Portrait, 251, 295
 Positivism, 12, 60
 Post-graduate study, 145, 263
 Powell, Sir Richard Douglas, 77, 129, 140, 154, 180, 193
 Power, Sir D'Arcy, 272, 277
 Preaching, 227, 242, 249, 252
 Pregnancy, albuminuria and, 132
 functional hemiplegia in, 49
 Price, F. W., 269
 Prior, Matthew, 212
 Privy Counsellor, 251
 Prostatectomy, 259
 Prout, W., 13
 Psychological medicine, 99
 Psychological Medicine, Cambridge Diploma in, 99, 204
 Psycho-analysis, 99, 100, 267
 Public Health Diplomas, 235
 Pulmonary thrombosis, and embolism, 283, 284
 Pulse, 68
 Pulse tension, 134
 Quakerism, 229, 230
Quarterly Journal of Medicine, 211
 Quinine, antipyretic action of, 66
 Radiology, 253
 Diploma in, 235, 253
 Ramazzini, Bernardino, 25
 Raynaud, Maurice, 15
 Reading habit, 28
 Regius Professorship, 105
 Relapsing fever, 21
 Relativity, 228
 Religion, and science, 227
 Religious views, 227-229
 Reynolds, Sir J. Russell, 117, 121, 129
 Research in medicine, 208, 226, 236, 243, 250, 269, 296, 320
 Rheumatoid arthritis, 181
 Ringer, Sidney, 35
 Ritchie, A. D., 275
 Robert Boyle Lecture, 149
 Robert, Rudolf, 128
 Roberts, David Lloyd, 288
 Roberts, R. D., 130
 Roberts, Sir William, 26
 Robertson, G. M., 286
 Robson, Sir A. Mayo, 122, 279
 Rome, visit to, 129, 142
 Ross, Sir Ronald, 155, 165
 Rothschild, M. A., 221
 Routh, Amand, 132
 Roux, Emile, 243
 Roy, C. S., 117
 Royal Army Medical Corps, 164
 Royal College of Physicians, Ireland, Honorary Fellowship, 140
 Royal College of Physicians, London, Censor, 224
 Censors' Board, 185, 186
 Examinership, 141, 142
 Fellowship, 84
 Goulstonian Lectureship, 74, 75, 84, 86

Royal College of Physicians
(*contd.*)—

Harveian Orator, 145

Honorary Fellows, 285

Membership, 74

Moxon Gold Medal, 259

the office of President, 225

Royal Medical and Chirurgical
Society, 92

Royal Society, Fellowship and
Committee work, 80

Royal Society of Medicine, 92

Honorary Fellow, 243

Rudolf, R. D., 286

Rutherford, Sir Ernest, 243, 285

Rynd's syringe, 44

Sadler, Sir Michael, 3

St. Andrew's Institute for Clinical
Research, 69

St. Bartholomew's Hospital Celebration, 271

St. David's, Pembrokeshire, 102

St. George's Hospital Medical
School, 12

St. Louis Exhibition, 165

Salisbury diet, 247

Salisbury, Lord, 109

Sanatoriums for tuberculosis, 262,
264

Sanetorius' clinical thermometer,
34

Sarsaparilla, 48

Savage, Sir George H., 101

Savile Club, 100

Savill, T. D., 134

Seales, F. Shillington, 235

Scarlet fever, 67

Schools, "brain forcing" in, 73, 86.

See also Education

Schulze, Edmund, 36, 37, 82

Science, classics and, 217
function of, in education, 189,
217, 218

religion and, 227

Science and Medieval Thought, 146

Scientific papers, composition of,
159-163, 269

Scott, Sir Gilbert, 25

Scrofulous glands, 83, 90

Semon, Sir Felix, 165

Senile plethora, 128, 134, 137.

See also Hyperpiesia

Sex matters, 91

Shattock, S. G., 243

Shaw, G. Bernard, 189

Shaw, Lauriston, 202

Shaw, T. Claye, 196

Sherrington, Sir Charles, 163, 243

Simeon, Charles, 9

Singer, Charles, 275

Skeat, W. W., 122

Skelton, Thomas, 5

Skin, nutrition of, 66

Smallpox, at Cambridge, 21

Smith, J. Lorrain, 147, 177, 205

Smoking, 282, 295

Society of Friends, 229

Speech, impairment of, 85

Spencer, Herbert Ritchie, 259,
289

Sphygmograph, 68

Spiritual life, 227-229

Spurgen, John, 35

Stanford University, 137

Stansfield, T., 30

Starling, E. H., 213

State medicine, 187

Stephen, Sir Fitzjames, 79

Stephen, Sir Leslie, 52, 101

Sterling, John, 29

Stomaeh, dilatation of, 77, 151
lavage of, 77

neuralgia of, 86

Stone, Mareus, 100

Strain, effect on the heart, 45, 46,
62

Strangeways, T. S. P., 181

Strangeways Research Labora-
tories, 269

Sudhoff, Karl, 241

Suggestion and hypnotism, 103

"Sunday Tramps", 52, 100, 101

Superannuation of Professors,
257

Surgeon's fees, 219

Surgery and Medicine, 83, 155,
166, 220

artificial distinction between,
32

Surgical aids to medicine, 77, 83

Survival of the fittest, 152, 156

Sutherland, G. A., 226

Symonds, John Addington, 71

Symptoms, treatment of, 198

Syneope, 251

Syphilis, and general paralysis, 98
of cerebral arteries, 40

- Syphilis (*contd.*)—
 of nervous system, 40, 42, 58, 64, 258
 sarsaparilla in cachectic cases, 48
 visceral, 258
System of Gynaecology, 120, 121
System of Medicine, 117, 118
- Tabes dorsalis, 127
 Tachycardia, 184, 185
 Tadeaster, enteric fever at, 43
 Talbot, Bishop, 228
 Taylor, Charles Louis, 196
 Taylor, Sir Frederick, 122, 224
 Teale, T. Pridgin, sen., 23, 56, 81
 Teale, T. Pridgin, jun., 24, 26, 27, 39, 44, 81, 88, 90, 122, 188, 198
 death of, 278
 Team work, pioneers of, 27
 Temperature (body), effect of physical exertion on, 56
 surface recordings, 67
 Tennyson, Lord, 29
 "Tension", 135
 Tetanus, 52, 53
 Thackrah, C. Turner, 25
 Thayer, W. S., 22, 165, 209, 248
 Theology, interest in, 228
 "Theory" and "fact", use of the terms, 160, 203
 Thermometer, clinical, Allbutt's, 34-36, 49
 history of, 34-36, 49, 55
 Thermopile, clinical, 67
 Theses, composition of, 159, 161, 162
 Thomson, Sir J. J., 243
 Thomson, Sir St. Clair, 142, 289
 Thoracic surgery, 26, 59
 Thorne, Sir R. Thorne, 43
 Thorpe, Sir T. E., 24
 Thrombosis, pulmonary, 283
 typhoid, 22
 Thruston Speech and Prize, 46, 47
Times, The, contributions to, 126, 135, 143, 149, 163, 167, 177, 179, 180, 196, 202, 217, 218, 243, 252, 256, 263, 278, 280, 286, 287, 292
 Titles of medical papers, 191, 192
 Tobacco, 282, 295
 Toronto, visit to, 138, 177
 Treloar Hospital, Alton, 71, 273
 Tropical Medicine and Hygiene Diploma, 155
 Trousseau, Armand, 14, 15, 18, 26, 123
 on paracentesis pericardii, 48
 Trudeau, E. L., 70
 Tuberculosis, 147, 180, 191, 209
 Davos treatment, 70, 71
 dispensaries and sanatoriums for, 261
 in man and animals, 253
 treatment, 140, 142, 151, 152, 262, 264. *See also* Papworth Village Settlement.
 Tuberculous glands, 90, 122
 Turnbull, H. M., 216
 Turner, Sir Wm., 57, 210
 Tyndall, John, 85
 "Type" and "typical", use of the terms, 161
 Typhoid, 18, 83
 infection by urine, 147
 open-air treatment, 41
 thrombosis in, 22, 284
 Typhus, 18, 21
 at Leeds (1865-66), 32-34
 infection from the dead, 53
 open-air treatment, 32-34, 41
 prevention, 39
- United States, visit to, 137, 165
 Universities, in medical research and practice, 250
 modern, 252
 University education, function of, 113, 172
 Uræmic asthma, 71
 Uterine disease, 87
- Van Horn, Sir William, 138
 Van Swieten, 34
 Varrier-Jones, P. C., 67, 163, 231, 261, 263, 276
 Venn, John, 10
 Vicious circles in disease, 198
 Visceral neuroses, 86
 Vitamins in bread, 292
- Wade, Sir W. F., 102
 Wagner, Hermann, 214
 "Waiting period", reading during, 28

- Wakefield, West Riding Lunatic Asylum, 40, 64, 97
 Waller, A. D., 199
 Walsham, Hugh, 176
 Warfare, chemical, 255
 Waring, Sir Holburt, 272
 War work, 214, 221
 Washbourn, J. W., 141, 148
 Waterton, Charles, 1
 Watson, Sir Thomas, 212
 Watts, G. F., 100
 Weber, Sir Hermann, 147, 154, 237
 Webster, Sir Richard, 139
 Wedgwoods, The, 1
 Weleh, W. H., 119, 138, 178, 248
 Wellmann, Max, 134, 153
 Wells, Sir Speneer, 56
 Wenekebach, K. F., 197, 248, 258, 271, 284, 285
 Wesley, Samuel Sebastian, 82
 West, Samuel, 75
 West London Medico-Chirurgical Society, 272
 West London Post-graduate College, 268
 Wheelhouse, Claudius Galen, 14, 24, 32, 66, 80, 83, 88, 95, 102
 appreciation of, 190
 Wherry, G. E., 281
 Whitehead, Walter, 151
 Wilks, Sir Samuel, 31, 40, 49, 54
 Williams, Sir Dawson, 265, 270
 Williams, Rhys, 97
 Wills, Mr. Justice Alfred, 100
 Wilson, Edmund, 20
 Winterton, Ralph, 107, 251
 Wolf, C. G. L., 246
 Womaek, F. E., 188
 Women, degrees for, 129, 130, 259
 Wood, Alexander, 44
 Wood-engraving, 23
 Woodhead, Sir German Sims, 147, 177, 258
 appreciation of, 260
 Wooler, John, 2
 Wooler, Margaret, 2, 3
 Words, correct use of, 161, 162, 178, 191, 192, 272, 290
 Worry, influence on kidneys, 68, 69
 Wright, Sir Almroth, 243
 Writing, style in, 162, 163
 Wunderlich, C. A., on clinical thermometry, 35
Wuthering Heights, 4
 York, St. Peter's School, 7, 8
 Yorkshire, N. and E. Riding Asylum, 57
 W. Riding Asylum, 40, 64, 97

THE END

WORKS BY SIR T. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT

ARTERIOSCLEROSIS. A Summary View. Crown 8vo.
5s. net.

GREEK MEDICINE IN ROME. The Fitzpatrick Lectures
on the History of Medicine delivered at the Royal
College of Physicians of London in 1909-1910; with
other Historical Essays. 8vo. 18s. net.

THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF MEDICINE AND
SURGERY TO THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY.
Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

ON PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO MEDICINE. Crown 8vo. 2s. net.

NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION OF SCIENTIFIC
PAPERS. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

BY SIR HUMPHRY DAVY ROLLESTON AND DR. JOHN WILLIAM McNEE

DISEASES OF THE LIVER, GALL-BLADDER AND
BILE-DUCTS. Third edition. Illustrated. 8vo.
42s. net.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON

SOME NEW AND RECENT BOOKS

THE PREVENTION OF HUMAN TUBERCULOSIS OF BOVINE ORIGIN. By WILLIAM G. SAVAGE, M.D. (Lond.), D.P.H., author of "Milk and the Public Health." 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

STUDIES ON THE STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF VERTEBRATES. By E. S. GOODRICH, D.Sc., Linacre Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy in the University of Oxford. Illustrated. 8vo.

THE GLANDS REGULATING PERSONALITY: A STUDY OF THE GLANDS OF INTERNAL SECRETION IN RELATION TO THE TYPES OF HUMAN NATURE. By LOUIS BERMAN, M.D. Second Edition, revised. 8vo. 15s. net.

LECTURES ON THEORETICAL PHYSICS. Delivered at the University of Leiden. By H. A. LORENTZ. Authorised Translation by L. SILBERSTEIN, Ph.D., and A. P. H. TRIVELLI. 8vo.

Vol. III. The Principle of Relativity for Uniform Translations (Special Theory of Relativity).

Previously published.

Vol. I. Aether Theories and Aether Models. Edited by H. BREMEKAMP, Ph.D. Kinetical Problems. Edited by E. D. BRUINS, Ph.D., and J. REUDLER, Ph.D. 12s. 6d. net.

Vol. II. Thermodynamics. Edited by T. C. CLAY-JOLLES. Entropy and Probability. Edited by C. A. CROMMELIN, Ph.D. The Theory of Radiation. Edited by A. D. FOKKER, Ph.D. The Theory of Quanta. Edited by G. L. DE HAAS-LORENTZ, Ph.D. 21s. net.

TEXT-BOOK OF PALAEONTOLOGY. By Professor KARL A. VON ZITTEL. English Translation. Illustrated. 8vo.

Vol. II. Pisces—Amphibia—Reptilia—Aves. Second Edition. Revised with additions by Sir ARTHUR SMITH WOODWARD, F.R.S.

Previously published.

Vol. I. Protozoa—Coelenterata—Vermes—Echinodermata—Molluscoidea—Mollusca—Arthropoda. Second Edition. 31s. 6d. net.

Vol. III. Mammalia. Revised by MAX SCHLOSSER, Ph.D. Translated under the direction of the late CHARLES R. EASTMAN, Ph.D., by LUCY P. BUSH and MARGUERITE L. ENGLER. Revised with additions, by Sir ARTHUR SMITH WOODWARD, F.R.S. 25s. net.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON

May 1966 (Schumann) - \$3.50

